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REV. WILLIAM BRIDGE, M.A.

FORMERLY FELLOW OF EMANUEL COLLEGE, CAMBRIDGE, AND PASTOR OF THE CHURCH OF CHRIST IN GREAT YARMOUTH, NORFOLK.

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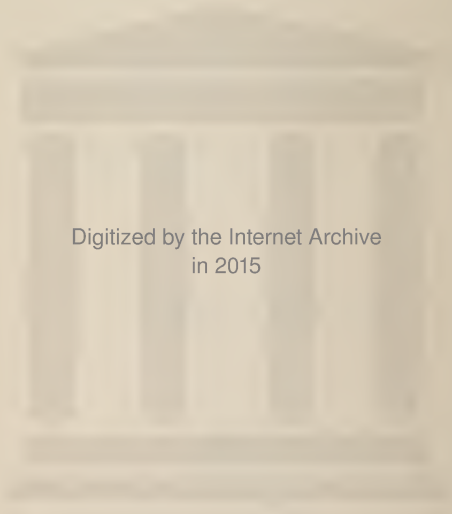

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THE

SINFULNESS OF SIN

AND THE

FULNESS OF CHRIST.

IN TWO SERMONS,

PREACHED A. D. 1667.

TO THE READER.

CHRISTIAN READER,—Thou art desired to take notice that these two Sermons are not exposed to public view by the Author's own hand, but were taken as they fell from his lips in his ordinary preaching: nevertheless the style, method, spirituality, conciseness and depth of them, give in ample testimony to all that have acquaintance with him that they are his genuine offspring; and being suitable and useful to all persons, in all conditions, thou mayest, through the blessing of God, reap much advantage by them.

THE

SINFULNESS OF SIN AND THE FULNESS OF CHRIST.

SERMON I.

THE SINFULNESS OF SIN.

"*But sin, that it might appear sin, working death in me by that which is good; that sin by the commandment might become exceeding sinful.*"—ROM. VII. 13.

MY purpose is now to speak something concerning the evil and sinfulness of sin, and therefore have made choice of these words. In this chapter the apostle Paul doth give us some account of the way and manner of his conversion. Before I was converted, says he, "I was alive without the law," verse 9; but "when the commandment came, sin revived, and I died;" for without the law, sin was dead, and "I was alive without the law once." I thought myself a jolly man, I was very brisk and jolly, had good thoughts of my condition: "I was alive without the law once, but when the commandment came;" when the word of the Lord came in power unto my soul—for I had the law and the commandment always with me, "concerning the law I was blameless," Phil. iii. 6; the letter of the law was not absent from me—but when it pleased God to set on the word of the Lord in power upon my soul, then, whereas I was alive before, now sin revived; sin that lay dead before, and was hid, now revived, and did appear to be sin; for that in the 9th verse, and this in verse 13, are the same: verse 9, "Sin revived, and I died;" "But sin, that it might appear sin, working death in me;" in this 13th verse. But how did sin revive and appear? By the coming of the law, by the coming of the commandment, thereby it broke out the more, and so was discovered; as by the coming and shining of the sunbeams upon the dunghill, the filth stinks the more, not that the sunbeams are the cause, but the occa-

sion thereof. And sin revived by the coming of the commandment, and appeared to be sin, appeared more to me in its own shape, and struck me dead with the apparition thereof; whereas before, sin was dead and I alive, now sin alive and I dead.

From whence then I take up this observation:

That there is a great deal of evil and sinfulness in sin which doth not appear to a man until he doth convert and turn unto God. Look when a man doth convert and turn unto God, then sin appears to be sin indeed, and not before.

For the clearing and prosecution whereof I shall labour to shew,

First, That there is a great deal of evil and sinfulness in sin.

Secondly, That this evil and sinfulness of sin doth not appear to a man until conversion work pass upon his soul.

Thirdly, Look when a man doth convert and turn to the Lord in truth, then sin appears in the sinfulness thereof unto him.

There is a great deal of evil and sinfulness in sin.

To make it out in the general, and then more particularly:

In the general. This may appear by the names of sin, for sin hath taken up all the names of evil, of all evils. The Scripture doth not nickname sin; and yet what evil is there incident unto man, but sin is invested with the name thereof in Scripture?

Is it an evil thing for a man to be unclean and filthy? Sin is called filthiness: "I will wash you from all your filthiness," Ezek. xxxvi. 25.

Is it an evil thing for a man to be naked? Sin is called nakedness: "That your nakedness may not appear," Rev. iii. 18.

Is it an evil thing for a man to be blind? Sin is called blindness: "The blind shall lead the blind," Matt. xv. 14.

Is it an evil thing for a man to be foolish? Sin is called folly: "That you may no more return unto folly," Psalm lxxxv. 8.

Is it an evil thing for a man to be mad? The prodigal returned unto himself, Luke xv. 17; and, "I was mad," says Paul, Acts xxvi. 11.

Is it an evil thing for a man to be dead? Sin is called death: "Dead in trespasses and sins," Eph. ii. 1.

It is called an abomination, Prov. viii. 7; and because there is no word that can express the evil and sinfulness of sin, the apostle in this place says, "That sin might become exceeding sinful." Why? Because there is no word of evil that can reach the evil of sin. Now look what that is that doth engross and take up all the names of all evils, that must needs be exceeding evil; so it is with sin.

Look what that is that doth separate betwixt us and God, who is the chiefest and universal good, that must needs be the greatest evil. Now says the prophet, "Your iniquities have separated between you and your God," Isa. lix. 2.

Look what that is that doth unite us to Satan, and make us the children of the devil, that must needs be very evil. Says our Saviour, "You are of your father the devil:" why? "for his works you do," John viii. 44. Sin makes us the children of the devil.

Look what that is that did put Christ to death, that was the cause of his death, that must needs be exceeding evil. So sin did: "He was made sin for us," 2 Cor. v. 21. "He bare our sins upon the cross," 1 Pet. ii. 24. "And the Lord made the iniquity of us all to meet on him," Isa. liii. 6.

Look what that is that doth bring a general curse upon the whole creation, that must needs be evil. So sin hath done: "Cursed be the ground and the earth for thy sake," Gen. iii. 17.

Look what that is that doth soil and stain all our glory, and the image of God in us, that must needs be great evil. Sin hath stained the beauty of the image of God that was stamped upon us, and by sin, saith the apostle, Rom. iii. 23, we come short of the glory of God, "For all have sinned, and come short of the glory of God."

Look what that is that doth bring such horror of conscience, that a soul is not able to bear, and cannot be allayed but by the blood of Jesus, that must needs be a very great evil: sin, and the eating of the forbidden fruit, hath bred this worm that never dies.

Look what that evil is that is the fuel of hell, that feeds hell-fire to all eternity; that must needs be great evil: take sin away, and hell-fire dies; sin is that brimstone that hell-fire feeds upon to all eternity.

Look what that evil is that is worse than the worst of

afflictions, that must needs be very evil: the least sin is worse than the greatest affliction. For,

Take an affliction, and though it be never so great, it doth not defile the man; "for that which is from without doth not defile the man, but that which is from within," Mark vii. 15. Sin is from within. Affliction is not from within, but from without; but sin is from within. Therefore if I give a reproachful word to another, it more defiles me than a hundred reproachful words from another, because my word comes from within me, his words from without me. Now affliction is from without, and doth not defile; but sin is from within, and doth defile. Therefore the least sin is worse than the greatest affliction.

Take an affliction, and though it be never so great, yet notwithstanding, God is the author of it. "Is there evil in the city, and the Lord hath not done it?" Amos iii. 6. God bade Shimei curse David: "Let him alone, God hath bidden him," 2 Sam. xvi. 11. I send famine, and I send pestilence, and I send mildew, says God. God is the author of affliction, but God is not the author of any sin. Indeed it is said God hardened the heart of Pharaoh, and others, but that is, *non infundendo maliciam sed subtrahendo gratiam:* not by infusing malice into their hearts, but by withdrawing his grace. God is not the author of sin, but God is the author of all affliction.

Take an affliction, and though it be never so great, yet it is not contrary to God; but sin, though never so small, is contrary to God.

Take an affliction, and though it be never so great, yet notwithstanding it is but the fruit and the claws of sin. What are the claws to the lion? If the lion be dead, the claws can do us no hurt, but if the lion be alive, his life puts strength into his claws. Afflictions are but the claws of sin, "The sting of death is sin," 1 Cor. xv. 56, and the sting of affliction is sin; but as for afflictions, they are but the bare claws, and it is sin that puts life and strength into these claws.

Take an affliction, and though it be never so great, yet God doth not hate affliction, neither doth affliction make a man hate God; but God hates sin, and sin makes a man hate God.

Take an affliction, and though it be never so great, a man may be a blessed man in the worst affliction. "Blessed is the man whose transgression is forgiven, and whose sin is covered," Ps. xxxii. 1; but he cannot be a blessed man that lies in sin. "Cursed is every man that continueth not in all things written in the law to do them," Gal. iii. 10. Thus you see the least sin is worse than the greatest affliction; therefore certainly the evil of sin is very great.

Look what that evil is that God doth punish with the greatest severity, both in his own and others, though it be but small in our eyes, that must needs be exceeding evil. Now he doth severely punish that which we look upon as a small sin, both in his own and others. In his own: you think it was no great matter for Adam to eat the forbidden fruit; you think Moses was but a little in passion with the children of Israel, for which he was kept out of Canaan; and you think it was no great matter for Uzzah to stay the ark when it was falling; yet God punished these small sins, small in our eyes, he punished them severely in his own people. And, as for others: because there is an infinite evil in sin, and God doth justly punish, he punisheth them to all eternity for the least sin; for amongst men, it is just to punish until a man repenteth, but in hell men never repent, therefore God punisheth them to all eternity. So that God doth punish sin with the greatest severity, both in his own and others; therefore surely it is very evil.

Look what that is that is a worse evil than hell or the devil, that must needs be a very great and exceeding evil. Sin is worse than the devil; for the devil is a creature that God made, but sin is none of God's creature. And it is worse than hell; for hell is of God's making too, but sin is not. It is worse to be given up to sin than to the devil; if a man be given up to the devil, it is that his soul may be saved; but if a man be given up to sin, it is that his soul may be destroyed and not saved. So that sin is worse than hell or the devil.

Look what that evil is that is a punishment in itself, that must needs be exceeding evil, Sin in itself is a punishment, though there were no other punishment to follow. "In keeping thy commandments there is great reward," Ps. xix. 11. So in breaking God's commandments there is great

punishment. Therefore sometimes when God would punish men for their sins, he punisheth them by giving them up to great sins: "God gave them up to vile affections, to uncleanness," &c. Rom. i. 26. Now I say, look what that is which is in itself a punishment, that must needs be exceeding evil: and thus it is with sin; this therefore must needs be a very great evil. Thus in the general, you see, there is a great deal of evil and sinfulness in sin.

But now, more particularly, I shall shew it you in the sin of our nature, the sin of our hearts and thoughts, and the sin of our lives and practices; especially living under the gospel, the evil of these sins.

As for the sin of our nature; the more universal and overspreading any leprosy or contagion is, the worse and the greater it is: now the sin of our nature spreads over all our faculties; our understanding, reason, will, affections; it spreads over all our faculties.

Look what that contagion or leprosy is, that is so great that nothing will help against it, but the pulling down the house; that must needs be very great: truly the sin of our nature is such, nothing will cure it but the pulling down the house.

Look what that sin is that is most unwearied, and whereby a man is unwearied in sin, that must needs be very great. The sin of our nature is unwearied, as the fountain is unwearied in sending up water, bubbling up water. A man may be wearied in drawing up water out of the fountain, and so a man may be wearied in sinful actions: but sinful nature is never weary, and that sin that is unwearied is exceeding great.

Look what that sin is that is the ground of all our relapses and returns to sin; that must needs be very great. Now what is the ground of all our returns to evil, after all our repentance and reformation, but our nature? Suppose water be heated; after it is warmed and heated, it cools again. Heat it again, and it cools again; why? Because coldness is its nature. And so what is the reason that men return again and again to their sin, after all their repentance and reformation, but the sin of their nature?

Look what that evil is which is the least lamented, and that whereby our sin is most excused; that is a great and

dreadful evil. Now of all sins the sin of our nature is least lamented, and thereby men's sins are most excused. Bear with me, it is my nature; I am passionate, but it is my nature; I am froward, but it is my nature; men excuse themselves thereby. Now, I say, look what that evil is which is least lamented, and that whereby our sin is most excused; that is a dreadful evil. Thus it is with the sin of our nature.

Again, But as for the sin of our hearts and thoughts, the evil thereof:

Look what that sin is that is the most incurable; that is worst: a secret hidden wound within the body, or a disease within the body, is the most incurable. Such are the sins of our hearts and thoughts, secret sins, and so the most incurable.

Look what that sin is that is a friend, a parent to other sins; that must needs be very evil. Now what are the parents of all our sinful actions but sinful thoughts? What puts life into evil actions but sinful thoughts? So with the godly, and so with the ungodly: with the godly, for saith Abraham, "I thought the fear of God was not in this place," Gen. x. 11. and therefore I said she is my sister; she was indeed his sister, and he lied not in saying so; but he dissembled, and hid the truth, using an unworthy shift for his own preservation; and where began this evil but in a sinful thought? "I thought the fear of God was not in this place." So with the ungodly, Ps. l. 21, "Thou thoughtest I was altogether such an one as thyself:" the wicked steal, and commit adultery, and deceive, and slander others, and how are they led into all this, but by thoughts? "Thou thoughtest I was such an one as thyself:" and you know what the Psalmist saith, "Cleanse thou me from secret faults, then shall I be upright, and I shall be innocent from the great transgression," Ps. xix. 12, 13. Sins of our hearts and thoughts do principiate, and give a being unto sinful actions, and therefore are very evil.

Thereby also, by the sins of our hearts and thoughts, our former sin committed, that was dead, is revived again, and hath a resurrection by our musing on it, contemplating on it with delight. As the witch at Endor called up Samuel that was dead, so a delightful thought calls up a sinful ac-

tion that was dead before. Thereby our sins that were dead before are revived, and have a resurrection.

Thereby also a man may possibly sin that sin in effect, which he never did commit in act, and so the Lord may punish him for it: as the Lord said to David, because it was in thine heart to build me an house, I will build thy house: so says God to a man in a way of punishment, because it was in thy heart to do this evil, though thou didst it not, I will punish thee for it. Possibly, I say, by the sin of our hearts and thoughts, a man may sin that sin in effect, which he never did commit in act, and that is evil.

Thereby a man may or doth repent of his very repentance: a man sins and afterwards is sorrowful, and repents thereof, and then after his repentance he thinks on his sin with delight; what is this but to repent of his very repentance? As by my repentance I am sorrowful for my sin, so by musing on my sin with delight, I repent of my repentance. Now is it not a very great evil for a man to repent of his repentance? Lo, this may a man do, and this men ordinarily do; they repent of their repentance by musing on their sin, and delighting in it in a way of sinful thoughts.

But again, As for the sin of our lives and practice, especially living under the gospel, the evil thereof, that is very great, for,

Sin under the gospel is sinning against the remedy; and of all sins, sinning against the remedy is the greatest; and therefore it is worse for a man to commit adultery that is married, than for an unmarried man to commit fornication; for he sins against the remedy. Now the great remedy against sin is the gospel; therefore for a man to sin under the gospel, he sins against the remedy.

The greater obligations a man sinneth against, the worse and the greater is his sin. By the gospel we are brought under great obligations, and by our sinning under the gospel, what do we? We engage the very mercy of God to become our adversary: by our sinning under the gospel, we sin against mercy and grace, and thereby engage the very mercy of God, our greatest friend, to become our greatest adversary.

Peccatum majus, ubi specialis repugnantia inter peccantem et peccatum; the more repugnancy there is betwixt the sin and the sinner, the greater is the sin; and therefore it is

worse for a judge to be unjust, than for another, because there is a special repugnancy betwixt the sin and the sinner. Now there is a special repugnancy betwixt the gospel, and a man that sins under the gospel; for he professes the contrary, and therefore sin there is the greater.

Peccatum majus, ubi majus nocumentum; the more hurtful or mischievous any sin is, the greater is that sin: sinning under the gospel is very hurtful, to ourselves, and to others. To ourselves; as poison taken in sack, or something that is warm, is the most venomous, so sin under the gospel is the deadliest poison. Why? Because it is warmed with gospel heat; and it is hurtful to others, because they are hardened; for when men sin under the gospel, others are hardened thereby.

The more able that any sin is to defend itself by knowledge, shifts and distinctions, the worse and greater it is. Now a man that lives under the gospel hath knowledge, and by his knowledge is able to defend his sin by many distinctions; and sins bred under the gospel are able to defend themselves by knowledge fetched from the gospel, therefore the worse.

The more deceitful that any sin is, and the better ends and pretences it hath, the worse it is, and holds the longer. Now sins bred under the gospel are most deceitful, and have the best ends and pretences, and therefore the worse.

The more that a man doth cast contempt upon the great things of God by his sin, the greater and the worse is his sin. Sins under the gospel cast contempt upon the great things of God, the glory of God, the glorious offer of the grace of God. To sin under the gospel, is to cast contempt upon the glory of God and the great things of God, and therefore sin there is the greater.

The more costly and chargeable that any sin is, the greater and the worse it is. Now a man that sins under the gospel cannot sin at so cheap a rate as another, though he sins the very same sin that another commits. Why? "He that knows his Master's will and doth it not, shall be beaten with many stripes," Luke xii. 47. What an evil and dreadful thing is it for men to sin under the gospel, says the apostle, "he shall come in flaming fire, taking vengeance on them that know not God, and that obey not the gospel," 2 Thess. i. 8. Flaming fire; not painted fire, but real fire; but there

may be real fire in a spark, therefore he doth not say real fire neither, but, "He shall come in flaming fire, taking vengeance on them that know not God, and that obey not the gospel." Oh, what an evil and dreadful thing is it for a man to sin living under the gospel. Now if there be so much evil in the sins of our lives and practices, living under the gospel; if there be so much evil in the sin of our hearts and thoughts; if there be so much evil in the sin of our nature; if sin hath taken up all the names of all evils; if sin doth separate between God and us; if sin doth unite us to Satan, and make us the children of the devil; if sin did put Christ to death; if sin doth bring a general curse upon the whole creation; if sin doth stain all our glory; if sin doth awaken conscience to that horror that nothing but the blood of Christ can quiet it; if sin doth feed the fire of hell; if the least sin be worse than the greatest affliction; if God doth punish the least sin both in his own and others with the greatest severity; if sin be worse than hell or the devil; and, if sin itself be a punishment, certainly there is abundance of evil and sinfulness in sin. So I have done with the first thing, namely, that there is a great deal of evil and sinfulness in sin.

Secondly, Though there be thus much evil and sinfulness in sin, this doth not appear to a man until he doth convert and turn unto God: till then his sin is dead, but then it is revived; till then the sinfulness of sin doth not appear, for,

Till then a man is in the dark; and who can see the greatness of an evil in the dark?

Till then, grace, the contrary, is not placed in the soul; one contrary doth shew the other: white is best seen by black, grace is best seen by sin, and sin is best seen by grace: till then a man hath no grace, no contrary to illustrate it, to make it appear.

And till then sin is in its own place. *Elementum non gravidat suo loco;* water is not heavy in its own place, it is not heavy in the river; a man may lay at the bottom of the river with all the water upon his back, and yet not feel the weight of it, because it is in its place; but take but a pail-ful of water out of the river, and you feel the weight of it, because then it is out of its place. Now till a man convert and turn unto God, sin is in its own place, and therefore the sinfulness of it doth not appear.

But you will say, How comes this to pass, that sin should not appear in the sinfulness of it, until a man convert and turn unto God?

I answer, Sin is a spiritual thing; I mean a moral, not a natural thing: sin is a spiritual thing, and a man that liveth by sense cannot see what is spiritual.

A man is blind unto what he loves; till a man convert and turn unto God, he loves his sin; he loves it above all the world; and therefore the evil and sinfulness of sin doth not yet appear to him.

The more blinds a man hath that cover his sin, the less he sees it, and the less sin appears to be sinful: now before a man convert and turn unto God, all his duties are but blinds to cover his sin, all his morality is but a blind, all his natural uprightness is but a blind: True, says he, I am a sinner; but I pray, and perform duty, therefore am not so great a sinner; I have such and such moralities, and my heart is as good as any one's, therefore I am not so great a sinner. What are all his duties before he convert and turn unto God, but so many blinds to cover and hide his sin? No wonder therefore that sin doth not appear as it is, until a man doth convert and turn unto God.

The more a man looks upon sin as going into it, the less it appears to be; and the more a man looks upon sin as coming out of it, coming from it, the greater it appears to be; there is a going into sin by commission, and there is a coming from it by repentance. Now when a man is going into his sin, there he sees profit, pleasure, and his own concernments, and this makes his sin appear little; but when he comes out of it, there he sees sorrow, and repentance, and that makes his sin appear great.

Sometimes by the providence of God, sin meets with good events; and holiness meets with bad events in the world: and so the evil and sinfulness of sin is hidden from men.

The less a man is at the work of private examination, the less sin appears to be sin, and the less he sees sin as it is: before a man convert and turn unto God, he is little in the work of examining his own soul in private: no wonder therefore sin doth not appear to him to be sinful, because he is little in the work of private examination. Thus ye see sin

doth not appear in the sinfulness of it until a man doth convert, and turn unto God. That is the second.

Thirdly, Look when a man doth convert and turn unto the Lord, then sin appears in the sinfulness thereof unto his soul. For then,

He is weary and heavy-laden under the burden of his sin; the more a man is weary and heavy-laden under the burden of his sin, the more sin appears evil and sinful to him: now look when a man doth convert and turn unto God, then he is weary, and heavy-laden under the burden of his sin: "Come unto me all ye that labour, and are heavy-laden," Matt. xi. 28.

Then he sees God, and not till then; the more a man sees God, the glory of God, the goodness of God, the wisdom of God, the holiness of God, the sovereignty of God: the more sin appears in its sinfulness to him: "Woe is me, I am undone, for I have seen the King, the Lord of Hosts," Is. vi. 5. And says Job, "I have heard of thee by the hearing of the ear, but now mine eye seeth thee." What then? "I abhor myself, and repent in dust and ashes," Job xlii. 5, 6. Look when I see God, the glory of God, the goodness of God, the holiness of God, the wisdom and the sovereignty of God, then sin appears in its sinfulness to me.

Then also a man comes to see Christ crucified, and not till then; there is nothing can give us such a sight of sin as Christ crucified: "By the law is the knowledge of sin," Rom. iii. 20, but by the sight of Christ crucified, I see the hatred that God hath against sin; I do not see by the law so much the hatred that God hath against sin as in Christ crucified; the more I see God's hatred against sin, the more I see the sinfulness of it. Now look when a man doth convert and turn unto God, then he sees Christ crucified.

Look when a man hath gotten the true prospect of hell, and of the wrath of God, then sin appears sinful to him: now look when a man convert and turn unto God in truth, then he sees the wrath of God, and hath the true prospect of hell, from which he is delivered.

The more a man is tired out, and wearied with the dogging and haunting of his sin, that he can rest no where for it, the more the sinfulness of sin appears to him. Now when a man doth convert and turn unto God, what says he? Ah,

I am never at rest, I am dogged and haunted, and tired out continually with my sin; oh, now it appears very sinful to me.

Look when a man's heart is filled with the love of God, and possessed with the Holy Ghost, then sin appears to him to be very sinful; for what comes the Holy Ghost for? "To convince the world of sin," John xvi. 8. Now look when a man doth convert and turn to God, then comes this convincing work of the Holy Ghost; then his heart is filled with the love of God, and possessed with the Holy Ghost; therefore then sin appears in the sinfulness thereof unto his soul. And thus I have done with the doctrine, namely, that there is a great deal of evil and sinfulness in sin, which doth not appear to a man until he doth convert and turn unto God.

By way of application,

If there be so much evil and sinfulness in sin; behold the power of the grace of God, the grace of God without you, the grace of God within you. If a spark of fire should be preserved alive in an ocean of water, you would think it is some strong hand that did it; if a candle should be kept light in a great wind and storm, you will say, it was a strong hand that kept it light: there is an ocean of sin in our hearts, and that a little spark, or candle of grace should be preserved in us, in the midst of this ocean of sin; oh, the power of the grace of God.

If this be true, behold the riches and the freeness of the grace of God, that you should be delivered from all this evil; sin sinful, and so sinful, and evil, and you delivered from all this evil; oh, the riches, and the freeness of the grace of God.

But if the sinfulness of sin doth not appear until a man convert and turn unto God. Then,

Here we may see some reason, why some men are not sensible of their sins though very great, it is because they are not converted; the commandment never came, the commandment is not yet come: such a poor soul goes on in his sin, and is not yet convinced of the evil of it, for the commandment never yet came.

If this be true, what a sad condition are all those in that are not converted and brought home to God; they are in

their sins, and their sin is in them; "The whole world lies in wickedness," 1 John v. 19. They lie in their sin, and are full thereof; they are full of this evil; this evil is full of evil, and they are full of this evil: they are full of it. For,

They are always filling and never emptying: a vessel that is always filling, and never emptying, must needs be full. Thus it is with a man not converted, not turned to God, he is always filling with sin, and never emptying; yea, when he thinks he is emptying, when he thinks he is repenting and reforming, then he is filling with sin; always filling, and never emptying, therefore must needs be full.

They are full of it, because they sin beyond their temptation: if a beggar begs of me, and I give him more than he begs for; if he begs for sixpence, and I give him a shilling, he will say, I am full, for I give him more than he begged for: so when temptation begs, and a man sins beyond his temptation, what doth this argue but that he is full of sin? Thus it is with men unconverted, they sin beyond their temptation, and what doth this argue, but that they are full of sin.

And full they are, because they are dropping their sin wheresoever they go: you will say a beggar is full of vermin, that drops his vermin wheresoever he goes; so men, not converted, not turned unto God, they are dropping their vermin wheresoever they go: if they come in good company they are dropping their vermin there; if they come in bad company they are dropping their vermin there; why? because they are full of vermin, full of sin.

But again, As men not converted, not turned to God are full of sin, so they are under the power of it. Why, how doth that appear? Because their sin commands them off from their duty. Suppose a company of men sitting at table at meat together, and another comes into the room, and says to one of them, Take your cloak and follow me, and he presently rises from his meat and follows him; you will say, Certainly this man is his master, because he arises from his meat at his command and follows him. So when sin shall command a man off from his duty, from reading the word, from private prayer; what doth this argue, but that he is under the power of sin? As when a man is sinning, and grace comes and calls him off from his sin, it

argues he is under the power of grace; so when a man is at his duty, and his sin comes and calls him off from his duty, it argues he is under the power of sin; so it is with men unconverted, they are under the power of their sin.

As a man unconverted is full of sin, and under the power of it, so he knows it not; for sin doth not appear to a man to be sin until he convert and turn unto God; it doth not yet appear, as the apostle says in another case, 1 John iii. 2, "It doth not yet appear what we shall be, but it shall appear;" so say I in regard of sin, It doth not yet appear, but it shall appear to a man's self, and others; before a man convert and turn to God, it doth not appear; but to such a one it shall appear: when a man comes to die, and all his hoops be knocked off, then it will appear how full of sin he is: as a vessel that is full of liquor, and the liquor issue through the hoops, you see there is liquor in it, but you do not know how full it is till the hoops are knocked off. But then you will say, Oh, how full was this vessel. Ah, now our hoops are on, and it doth not yet appear how full of sin men are; only it comes issuing through the hoops, through their duties, but a day is coming when all our hoops shall be knocked off, and then it will appear how full of sin men are.

But again, If this be true, that when a man doth convert and turn unto God, then his sin doth appear in the sinfulness thereof unto him; then why should we not all labour to get the true sight of sin, to be sensible of sin? It is the property of a man converted to be sensible of sin; "then sin revived." As therefore you desire to have upon you the character of a man converted, labour to be sensible of your sin, that it may appear in the sinfulness thereof.

It is the mind of God, that all his converted ones should think much on, and be very sensible of the sins they committed before their conversion. "Such and such were some of you, but ye are cleansed, but ye are washed." 1 Cor. vi. 11. I say it is the mind and will of God, that those that are converted should be very sensible of their sins which they committed before conversion. For,

Thereby they pity others that are in their sins.

Thereby they are kept from future sins: what is the reason that men are not kept from future sins, but because they are not sensible of their former sins.

Thereby also they are kept in the sense of free grace towards them, and so they magnify the free grace of God; I was a blasphemer, a persecutor; such and such a one I was; but I am washed, but I am cleansed, and through grace justified; oh, the freeness of the grace of God. Thus they magnify free grace. Therefore I say it is the mind of God, that those that are converted should be still very sensible of their sins committed before their conversion: and this is a character of a man converted, sin appears to him to be sinful. Now therefore as you desire to have the character of a man converted, labour more and more to see sin in the sinfulness of it.

Well, but then the question is, What shall we do, whether converted or not; what shall we do, that we may be able to see sin in the sinfulness thereof?

Be sure of this, that you look much upon Christ crucified. Christ on the cross is a glass wherein you may see the sinfulness of sin. Study Christ crucified much.

Labour more and more to walk in the presence of God, the shines of God's countenance; for as when the sun shines into the room, you see little motes, so when God shines into your heart, you see little sins: the beams of God's countenance do discover sin in the sinfulness of it; therefore labour to walk more in the presence of God, and in the shines of his countenance.

Labour more and more to examine your own souls; be much in private examination: hardly an ungrowing christian that is much in private examination; hardly a proud man that is much in private examination. Do you desire to see sin in the sinfulness of it? Go alone, call yourself often to account, be much in private examination.

Take as much pains to keep the sense of sin upon your heart as ever you did to get it: some take pains to get themselves into a good frame, but take no pains to keep themselves in it when they have gotten it. As the apostle speaks, they view themselves in the glass of royal liberty, and go away and forget what manner of men they were.

In case you find any particular sin, go round about it; consider the circumstances thereof, aggravate it upon your own soul.

Improve your afflictions this way. God sends afflictions

sometimes to give you the sight of some sin that lay hid before; and sometimes your afflictions have your sin written on their forehead. Improve then your affliction for the discovery of the sinfulness of sin.

Be sure you judge of sin as the scripture judgeth of it, and not as men judge of it: the Scripture judgeth of sin by the consequence thereof, as our Saviour Christ says, "I was an hungred, and ye fed me not; I was thirsty, and ye gave me no drink; naked, and ye clothed me not." How so? "Inasmuch as ye did it not to one of these, ye did it not to me," Matt. xxv. 42—45. Christ judgeth of sin by the consequence of it; therefore if you would see sin in the sinfulness of it, judge of it as Christ judgeth of it, and as the Scripture judgeth of it, and not as men judge of it.

If you desire to see sin in its own colours, in the sinfulness of it; then look upon the commandments of God as great things; the more the commandment of God is greatened to you, the greater will sin be in your eye; if the commandment of God be great in your eye, the sin, contrary to the commandment, will be great in your eye too.

Never think any thing small betwixt God and you; there is nothing small betwixt God and us, for God is an infinite God.

Never look upon sin in the time of temptation; for then you are in the dark, and not fit to see the greatness of sin: labour to know the difference betwixt temptation and corruption, and betwixt the sins of God's people, and others; but never look upon sin in the time of temptation, for then you are in the dark, and cannot see the sinfulness of it.

If you would see sin in the sinfulness of it; then go unto God for the coming of the commandment, that God would set on the commandment upon you, as Paul here; says he, "When the commandment came, sin revived, and I died." Some, it may be here, never yet had the commandment set on upon their hearts; Oh then go to God, and pray for the setting on of the commandment upon you; then shall you see sin in the sinfulness thereof.

Now let me add two or three cautions to this, and so conclude.

Take heed that you do not so think on sin as to forget Christ: if you think on sin without Christ you will despair,

if you think on Christ without sin you will presume; never think on sin without Christ: labour to get the sight of your sin, but never think on sin without Christ; but look on your sin in the wounds of Christ, and read your sins written out in Christ's blood.

Humble yourselves for sin, though it be never so small; but do not question your condition for sin though it be never so great; I do not speak this to those that are unconverted, for they have cause to question their condition for every sin, though never so small; but being converted and turned unto God, I say, humble thyself for every sin, though never so small; but never question thy condition for any sin, though never so great.

The more sense you have of sin, and the sinfulness thereof, the more labour to maintain your assurance of the pardon of it: and the more assurance you have of the pardon of your sin, the more labour for a sight and sense of it: let not your sense of sin quench your joy of pardon; let not your joy of pardon hinder your sight of sin: if both these be true and genuine, the one is an help unto the other.

And, to conclude, the more sense you have of sin, the more do you come to Christ: for in Scripture you shall find, that every good work is not for itself, but some good works are in order to others; as for example, to instance in the keeping of the Sabbath, you are to rest on the Sabbath, and it is a good work, but not for itself, but in order to prayer, hearing, sanctification, and other duties. So here, sense of sin is a good work; but it is not for itself, but in order to going to Christ; therefore now go to Christ, and say, Lord, now I see the sinfulness of sin, let me also see the graciousness of grace, and the fulness of Christ; yea, now I do come to thee for righteousness, because I see my sin is out of measure sinful.

SERMON II.

THE FULNESS OF CHRIST.

"Nevertheless, the dimness shall not be such as was in her vexation, when at the first he lightly afflicted the land of Zebulun, and

the land of Naphtali, and afterward did more grievously afflict her, by the way of the sea beyond Jordan in Galilee of the nations.

"The people that walked in darkness have seen a great light: they that dwell in the land of the shadow of death, upon them hath the light shined," ISAIAH ix. 1, 2.

THESE words do relate to the former chapter, as you may see by the word, nevertheless; in the end of the former chapter the prophet shews, that great trouble and misery should befal the people of God, "It shall come to pass, that when they shall be hungry, they shall fret themselves, and curse their king, and their God, and look upward; (verse 21) and they shall look unto the earth, and behold trouble and darkness, dimness of anguish; and they shall be driven to darkness: nevertheless the dimness shall not be such as was in her vexation," &c.

So that in these words you have a greater affliction mentioned, and the mitigation of that affliction: the affliction, or trouble, is more easy, and more heavy; it hath two parts, a more easy part, and a more heavy part: "at the first he lightly afflicted the land of Zebulun, and the land of Naphtali, and afterward did more grievously afflict her by the way of the sea." The story whereof you have in 2 Kings xv. 19, "Pul, the king of Assyria, came against the land; and Manahem gave Pul a thousand talents of silver, that his hand might be with him to confirm the kingdom in his hand, and Manahem exacted the money of Israel: so the king of Assyria turned back, and stayed not there in the land." There was the more light affliction: but in verse 29, there you have the more heavy affliction: "In the days of Pekah, king of Israel, came Tiglath-Pileser, king of Assyria, and took Ijon, and Abelbeth-Maachah, and Janoah, and Kedesh, and Hazor, and Gilead, and Galilee, all the land of Naphtali, and carried them captive to Assyria." Here was the affliction wherewith they were vexed, both more light, and more heavy.

The mitigation follows at verse 2: "The people that walked in darkness have seen a great light, they that dwell in the land of the shadow of death, upon them hath the light shined." Here is an alleviation of this affliction by the promise of Christ, which is interpreted of Christ, in Matt. iv. 12, "Now when Jesus had heard that John was cast into

prison, he departed into Galilee, and leaving Nazareth, he came and dwelt in Capernaum, which is upon the sea coast in the borders of Zebulun and Naphtali: that it might be fulfilled which was spoken by Esaias the prophet, saying, The land of Zebulun, and the land of Naphtali, by the way of the sea beyond Jordan, Galilee of the Gentiles: the people which sat in darkness saw great light; and to them which sat in the region and shadow of death, light is sprung up."

So that Christ, and Christ alone is an alleviation to our greatest afflictions.

And so the doctrine that I shall fall in with at this time is this:

There is that in Jesus Christ alone, which may and can and doth afford sufficient comfort and relief in the worst of times and conditions.

For the opening and prosecution whereof,

First, We will inquire into the truth of it; that it is so.

Secondly, What that is in Christ, that may, or can succour, comfort and relieve in the worst of times and conditions?

Thirdly, How far this concerns us?

And so to the application.

First, As to the truth of it; it is said of Christ, "That in him the fulness of the Godhead dwelleth bodily," Col. ii. 9, and there is enough in God to supply all our wants; as there is enough in heaven to pay for all at the last; so there is enough in God to supply all at the present. He is too covetous whom the great God of heaven cannot suffice. When David was in the greatest strait that ever he met with in his life; his wives and goods taken and carried away by the enemy, and his own men and soldiers mutinied, and ready to stone him; how did he comfort himself but in God? "David encouraged himself in the Lord his God," 1 Sam. xxx. 6. There is enough in God to comfort in all conditions, and the fulness of the Godhead dwelleth bodily in Christ; therefore there is that in Christ which may afford sufficient comfort and relief in the worst of times and conditions.

If you look into Scripture you shall find, that the promises and prophecies of Christ are calculated and given out for the worst of times. It was usual with the prophets to

prophesy of Christ; but mark how their prophecies were calculated for the worst of times: in Jer. xxiii. 6, you have a prophecy of Christ, "In his days, Judah shall be saved, and Israel shall dwell safely, and this is his name whereby he shall be called, the Lord our righteousness." Well, what time doth this prophecy relate to? A very evil time: "Woe be unto the pastors that destroy and scatter the sheep of my pasture," ver. 1. "Therefore thus saith the Lord God of Israel," ver. 2, "Against the pastors that feed my people, ye have scattered my flock, and driven them away, and have not visited them:" and then comes in the prophecy of Christ. So in Isaiah xxviii. 16, you have a great prophecy of Christ: "Behold I lay in Zion for a foundation, a tried stone, a precious corner-stone, a sure foundation:" a plain prophecy of Christ. Well, but how comes this in? Why it was calculated for an evil time; verse 14, "Hear the word of the Lord ye scornful men that rule this people which is in Jerusalem; because ye have said, We have made a covenant with death, and with hell are we at agreement, when the overflowing scourge shall pass through: therefore thus saith the Lord God, Behold I lay in Zion for a foundation, a stone, a tried stone, a precious corner-stone; judgment also will I lay to the line, and righteousness to the plummet, and the hail shall sweep away the refuge of lies, and the waters shall overflow the hiding place, and your covenant with death shall be disannulled, and your agreement with hell shall not stand:" a prophecy concerning Christ calculated for the worst of times. So in Ezek. xxxiv. 23, you have another prophecy of Christ, "And I will set up one shepherd over them, and he shall feed them, even my servant David, he shall feed them, and he shall be their shepherd;" plainly speaking of Christ. Well, but when doth he speak this prophecy of Christ? Look into the beginning of the chapter, verse 2, "Son of man, prophesy against the shepherds of Israel; prophesy, and say unto them, Thus saith the Lord God unto the shepherds: Woe be to the shepherds of Israel that do feed themselves, should not the shepherds feed the flocks? ye eat the fat, and ye clothe ye with the wool, ye kill them that are fed, but ye feed not the flock." Now in this time comes out the prophecy of Christ; you make mention of *aquavitæ* at other times, but when there is special mention

made of *aquavitæ*, and the *aquavitæ* bottle in a fainting and dying time; what doth this argue but there is a cordiality in it? The first time that ever Christ was prophesied of, what time was it? Adam fell, and all the children of men were in a most sad condition, what cordial was then brought forth but this? "The seed of the woman shall break the serpent's head," Gen. iii. 15, and this is ordinary; the promises and prophecies of Christ are calculated for the worst of times: why? but to teach us, that there is enough in Christ to comfort, succour, and relieve in the worst of times.

If there was enough in the types of Christ to comfort and relieve the saints and people of God under the Old Testament in the worst of their times; then there must needs be enough in Christ himself to relieve and comfort the saints, and people of God now in New Testament times, in the worst of our times. Now so it was, in the times of the Old Testament, in case they had sinned, what relief had they? A sacrifice to make an atonement, Lev. iv. 20, and so a type of Christ the great Sacrifice, Heb. ix. 26. In case they were in the wilderness and wanted bread, what relief had they? They had there, manna, a type of Christ, "The true bread that came down from heaven," John vi. 50, 51. In case they wanted water, what relief had they? The rock opened, and "that rock was Christ," 1 Cor. x. 4. "The rock followed them, and the rock was Christ." In case they were stung with the fiery serpents, what relief had they? They had the brazen serpent, and that was a type of Christ, John iii. 15. Now, I say, if the people of God in Old Testament times had relief in the types of Christ, surely there is relief enough for us now, in New Testament times, in Christ himself.

If all the promises of good things made to us were originated in Christ, and if all the promises that were made unto Christ of good things to come, do descend and run down upon us, more or less, then surely there is enough in Christ to relieve and succour in the worst of times. For what are the promises but divine conveyances? Now all the promises of good things that are made to us, they flow from Christ, "for all the promises are yea and amen in Christ," 2 Cor. i. 20. Yea, that is affirmed; amen, that is confirmed: all the promises made to us are affirmed and confirmed by Christ. And

on the other side, all the promises that are made to Christ do descend upon us. Look into Psalm ii., there is a great promise made to Christ at verse 8: "Ask of me, and I shall give thee the heathen for thine inheritance, and the uttermost parts of the earth for thy possession: thou shalt break them with a rod of iron, thou shalt dash them in pieces like a potter's vessel." A promise plainly given to Christ, and see how it descends and falls upon us. Rev. ii. 26, "He that overcometh and keepeth my works unto the end, to him will I give power over the nations, and he shall rule them with a rod of iron, as the vessels of a potter shall they be broken to shivers, even as I received of my Father." Even as I received of my Father; look what promise I have received of my Father, the same doth descend and fall down upon you. Now, then, if all the promises of good things made to us were originated in Christ, and if all the promises that are made unto Christ of good things to come do descend and run down upon us, surely there is enough in Christ to succour and relieve in the worst of times.

One thing more. If that all our want of comfort and satisfaction doth arise from the want of a sight of Christ's fulness and excellency, and all our satisfaction and comfort doth arise from the sight of Christ's fulness and excellency, then this doctrine must needs be true. Now look into Rev. v., and see how John weeps, and upon what account: "I saw (says John) in the right hand of him that sat on the throne, a book written within, and on the back side sealed with seven seals." And at verse 2, "I saw a strong angel proclaiming with a loud voice, Who is worthy to open the book and to loose the seals thereof? and no man in heaven, nor in earth, neither under the earth was able to open the book." Then at verse 4, says he, "I wept much, because no man was found worthy to open and to read the book, neither to look thereon." What stilled him; what quieted him? The sight of Christ, at verse 5: "And one of the elders saith unto me, Weep not; behold the Lion of the tribe of Judah, the Root of David hath prevailed to open the book." So he goes on opening the excellency and the fulness of Christ, and John weeps no more. So that, I say, all our want of comfort doth arise from our want of a sight of the fulness and excellency that is in Christ. Therefore certainly there is enough in

Christ to comfort, succour and relieve in the worst of times. And so you have this first thing.

Secondly, Well, but then what is that in Christ that may or can comfort, succour, and relieve in the worst of times and conditions?

I answer, Look what that good thing is which the world can either give or take away, that is in Christ in great abundance; and if that be in Christ in great abundance which the world can either give or take away, then there is that in Christ that may or can succour, comfort, and relieve in the worst of times. Now what can the world give or take away?

Can the world take away your estate, gold, or silver? Then read what is said in Prov. iii., concerning wisdom, where Christ is called wisdom: "Happy is the man that findeth wisdom, (verse 13) for the merchandize of it is better than the merchandize of silver, and the gain thereof than fine gold; she is more precious than rubies, and all the things thou canst desire are not to be compared unto her."

Can the world take away your liberty, your gospel liberty? Then you know what Christ says, Rev. iii. 8, "Behold I have set before thee an open door, and no man can shut it."

Can the world take away your life? You know what Christ saith, "I am the way, the truth and the life," John xiv. 6. "Ye will not come unto me, that ye might have life," John v. 40. On the other side, what can the world give to you?

Can the world give you peace, rest, quietness? Then you know what Christ saith, "Come unto me all ye that labour and are heavy-laden, and I will give you rest," Matt. xi. 28. "I create the fruit of the lips, peace," Isa. lvii. 19. "Peace I leave with you, my peace I give unto you, not as the world giveth give I unto you," John xiv. 27.

Can the world give you happiness or blessedness? I am sure Christ can. "Blessed (says he) are the poor in spirit; blessed are they that hunger and thirst after righteousness; blessed are the pure in heart: yea blessed are ye when men shall revile you, and persecute you for my sake," Matt. v. It was the work of the high priest to bless the people, and Christ being our great High Priest, it is his work to bless us: he, and he alone can make us blessed. Would you therefore

know what there is in Christ that can succour, comfort and relieve in the worst of times? Look I say whatsoever good thing the world can either give or take away, that is in Christ in great abundance.

There is in Jesus Christ the greatest excellency, under the best propriety. The greatest excellency; for,

If the knowledge of Christ be the most excellent knowledge, then surely Christ himself must needs be most excellent; the knowledge of Jesus Christ is the most excellent knowledge.

It is the most certain knowledge; you know other things by their shapes and species, you know Christ by the Spirit; you know other things by the testimony of men, you know Christ by the testimony of the Spirit; and as the testimony of the Spirit is more certain than the testimony of any man, so the knowledge of Christ is the most certain knowledge in the world.

It is that knowledge that gives you possession of the thing you know; by my knowledge of Christ, I am possessed of Christ; surely therefore it is the most excellent knowledge in the world, and therefore Christ himself must needs be most excellent.

He is called "The desire of all nations," in Hag. ii. 7. Some nations desire one thing and some another, but Christ is the desire of all nations. What is most desirable that is not in Christ? Is gold and silver most desirable? says he, "I counsel thee to buy of me gold tried in the fire," Rev. iii. 18. Is wisdom most desirable? "He is the wisdom of the Father," 1 Cor. i. 24. "In him are hid all the treasures of wisdom," Col. ii. 3. He is wisdom in the abstract; "Wisdom hath builded her house," Prov. ix. 1. and it is in the plural number, wisdoms hath builded her house; he is not only wise, but wisdom, and wisdoms. And he is called, that good thing, Jer. xxxiii. 14: "Behold, the day is come, saith the Lord of Hosts, that I will perform that good thing which I have promised unto the house of Israel, and unto the house of Judah." That good thing, with an emphasis, what is that? "At that time will I cause the branch of righteousness to grow up unto David, and he shall execute judgment and righteousness in the land." Christ is that good thing; He is the excellency of Jacob, the greatest excellency.

And this excellency is under the best propriety, insomuch as you may challenge it with a double *my*: "My God, my God," says David, Psalm xxii. 1. "My Lord, and my God," says Thomas, John xx. 28. There is such propriety in this excellency as you may challenge it with a double *my*. And it is such a propriety as can never be lost; "None shall take them out of my Father's hand," John x. 28, 29. Would you then know what there is in Christ that can comfort, succour, and relieve in the worst of times? I say there is the greatest excellency, under the best propriety.

There is in Jesus Christ the greatest fulness joined with the most communicativeness: some things are empty, and not full: some things are full, but they are full of wind, as the bladders of the creatures are, that the least prick melts them down into nothing; full, but not communicative; and some things are communicative, but not full; as springs, little water springs: but Christ is both full and communicative; he is the "rose of Sharon, and the lily of the vallies," Cant. ii. 1. The rose of Sharon, not the rose of a garden, that only some can come and take the sweetness of; but the rose of the field, that every one may come and smell on; his blood is a fountain opened, not a fountain enclosed, but opened; he is the tree of life, whose leaves are for the healing of the nations. So that there is not only *plenitudo abundantiæ, sed redundantiæ;* a fulness of abundance, but a fulness of redundancy; flowing over in Jesus Christ; would you therefore know what there is in Christ that can comfort and relieve in the worst of times? I say there is the greatest fulness joined with the most communicativeness.

There is in Jesus Christ the sweetest love, under the greatest engagement: the sweetest love; "thy love is better than wine; thy name is as ointment poured forth, therefore do the virgins love thee," Cant. i. 3. "Greater love than this hath no man," saith Christ concerning his death, John xv. 13. There is love in Christ beyond all dimensions; there is height, and breadth, and length, and depth of love in him, Ephes. iii. 18, 19. There is giving love in Christ, "who loved us, and gave himself for us," Gal. ii. 20. Ephes. v. 25. There is forgiving and pardoning love in Christ; witness Peter, whom Christ forgave when he had denied him. There is in Christ condescending love, witness Thomas;

"Come Thomas (says he) reach hither thine hand, and thrust it into my side," John xx. 27. I condescend to thee. There is in Christ accepting love; "I tell thee (says he) wheresoever this gospel is preached, that which this woman hath done, shall be told for a memorial of her," Matt. xxvi. 13, accepting of what she did. And there is in Christ a sympathizing love; "For he is not such an High Priest as cannot be touched with the feeling of our infirmities," Heb. iv. 15. There is the sweetest love in Christ.

And it is under the greatest engagement; for, is not a brother engaged to help his brother? "He is not ashamed to call them brethren." Heb. ii. 11. Is not a father engaged to help his children? "He is the everlasting Father," Isaiah ix. 6. Is not a husband engaged to help his wife? The church of Christ is his spouse, Cant. iv. 9. And now suppose there were one person that could stand under all these relations; a brother, a father, a husband; how much would that person be engaged to help, that should stand under all these relations? Thus Christ doth; he stands under all these relations. Therefore there is in Christ the sweetest love under the greatest engagement.

There is that in Jesus Christ that suiteth to all conditions: what condition can you come into but there is a promise suited to it; and what are the promises but the veins wherein the blood of Christ doth run? There is no condition but hath a promise suited to it, and so there is that in Christ that suits to all conditions. To instance a little:

Are you poor and needy? "I counsel thee to buy of me gold tried in the fire, that thou mayest be rich," Rev. iii. 18. Are you naked? says he, "I counsel thee to buy of me white raiment, that thou mayest be clothed, and that the shame of thy nakedness do not appear." Are you out of the way, wandering? "I am the way," John xiv. 6. Are you in the dark in reference to any business or your condition? "I am the light, (says he) and the light of life," John viii. 12. Are you hungry? "I am the bread of life," John vi. 48. Are you thirsty? "I am the water of life? He that drinketh of the water that I shall give him shall never thirst more," John iv. 14. Do you need justification? He is "the Lord our righteousness," Jer. xxiii. 6. Do you need sanctification? "For this cause do I sanctify myself that

they also may be sanctified," John xvii. 19. Do you need consolation? "I will send the Comforter," John xvi. 7. Do you need protection? "He is the Rock of ages; the Lord Jehovah," Isa. xxvi. 4. Are you in a paradise of prosperity? He is the "Tree of Life," Rev. xxii. 14. Are you in a wilderness of adversity? He is "the Manna that came down from heaven," John vi. 50. So, that then, there is that in him that is suited to all conditions.

There is that in Jesus Christ that doth answer to all our fears, doubts and objections. Hearken, if there be ever a poor doubting soul here, there is that in Christ that doth answer to all thy fears, doubts and objections.

Will you say, I am a poor lost creature? Then saith Christ, "I came to seek and to save that which was lost," Luke xix. 10. Will you say, Oh, but I am a sinner, a great sinner? Saith Christ, "I came not to call the righteous but sinners to repentance," Matt. ix. 13. Will you say, Oh, but I cannot repent? Then see what the apostle saith, Acts v. 31, concerning Christ, "Him hath God exalted with his right hand to be a Prince and a Saviour, to give repentance unto Israel, and remission of sin;" not only remission of sin, but repentance: it is Christ's work to give repentance as well as forgiveness of sin. Will you say, Oh, but I cannot leave my sins, I cannot turn away from my sins? Then read what the apostle saith, Acts iii. 26, "Unto you first God having raised up his Son Jesus, sent him to bless you, in turning away every one of you from his iniquities." Will you say, Oh, but I cannot come to Christ? Then he tells you that he is come to you: "I came to seek and to save that which was lost:" he brings the lost sheep home upon his shoulder, as in the parable. Will you say, Oh, but his sheep follow him, and I cannot follow him? Then he tells you, "He will carry the lambs in his arms, and gently lead those that are with young," Isa. xl. 11. He will drive you at your own pace. Will you say, Oh, but I have provoked Christ, and he is angry, and will cast me off? You know what he says then; "Those that come unto me I will in no wise cast out," John vi. 37. He is meek and lowly: he is meek, and therefore will not be angry with you; he is lowly, and therefore will not disdain you: "Learn of me," says he, "for I am meek and lowly," Matt. xi. 29. Will you say,

Oh, but I have sinned to the very utmost? Then the apostle tells you, that "He is able to save to the uttermost," Heb. vii. 25. So that there is plainly that in Christ that answereth to all our fears, doubts and objections.

Yet one thing more. There is that in Jesus Christ which doth and will supply all our wants. What is there that you want; do you labour under desertion? Then saith he, "I will lead you in a way that you have not known," Isa. xlii. 16. "And I will never leave you nor forsake you," Heb. xiii. 5. Do you labour under corruption and bondage to sin? There is freedom in Christ; "Those the Son makes free are free indeed," John viii. 36, indeed really, indeed eminently; "Those the Son makes free are free indeed;" indeed and indeed. Do you labour under great temptations? It is he that "treads down Satan under our feet," Rom. xvi. 20; and says he, "My grace is sufficient for thee," 2 Cor. xii. 9. Do you labour under the want of the means of grace, or the ministry of the word? "He hath received gifts for men;" and what those gifts are the apostle tells you, Eph. iv. 11, apostles, prophets, evangelists, pastors, and teachers. Do you labour under weakness, spiritual infirmity? Then he hath seven horns, and seven eyes, as you find him described, Rev. v. 6, answering to your infirmity or weakness. Or do you labour under any affliction, outward or inward, under persecution from enemies? Then see what is said concerning Christ, Micah v. 5, "And this man shall be the peace when the Assyrian shall come into our land." Are you afraid of an enemy coming into the land? "This man shall be the peace when the Assyrian shall come into our land." This man; what man? See at verse 2 it is plainly spoken of Christ: "But thou Bethlehem-Ephratah, though thou be little among the thousands of Judah, yet out of thee shall come forth unto me, that is to be ruler in Israel, whose goings forth have been from of old, from everlasting, and he shall stand and feed in the strength of the Lord, in the majesty of the name of the Lord his God, and this man shall be the peace:" this man, that is Christ; he shall be our peace when the worst of enemies come into our land.

Aye, but you will say, we see no likelihood of this; mark then what is said at ver. 7, "And the remnant of Jacob shall be in the midst of many people as a dew from the Lord, and

as the showers upon the grass that tarrieth not for man, nor waiteth for the sons of men." If a garden be to be watered with a watering pot, it stays for man; but if it be watered with the dew, it stays not for man. So, saith the Lord, shall the remnant of my people be, as the ground that waits upon the dew, that tarrieth not for man; though you see no likelihood of deliverance, no means whereby ye should be delivered, when the Assyrian comes into our land, when the worst of enemies come into our land; yet ye shall be delivered, "For this man shall be the peace:" so that look whatsoever that is which you want, it is all to be had in Christ. And thus now you see in these several particulars, what there is in Jesus Christ that may and can and doth afford sufficient comfort and relief, in the worst of times and conditions. That is the second.

Thirdly, Well but then you will say, This is good in the general, but what is this to us? We know there is enough in Christ to succour, comfort, and relieve in the worst of times and conditions, but what is that to us?

Yes, it is to you, and to you very much; for,

If you be overcomers and do overcome the evil of the times and places where you live, then all this fulness and excellency that is in Christ doth belong to you; for if you look into Rev. ii., and iii., you shall find, that unto every church there mentioned, there is a promise made of giving out some of the fulness and excellency of Christ; and still the promise runs, to him that overcometh, at the end of every epistle: "To him that overcometh;" that is, to him that overcometh the evil mentioned in that epistle; not in the general, but the evil mentioned in that epistle. As now to instance in the church of Laodicea, saith he, Rev. iii. 21, "To him that overcometh, will I grant to sit with me in my throne; even as I also overcame, and am set down with my Father in his throne." What is the thing promised here? Communion with Christ in his kingdom on earth. Well, but who are those that shall partake thereof? Such as overcome; "to him that overcometh." That overcometh what? That Laodicean lukewarmness; the sin forbidden in this epistle is lukewarmness, a mixture in the worship of God: he that overcometh this mixture, he shall have communion with Christ in his kingdom on earth. Now I say, this ful-

ness and excellency of Christ is promised to him that overcometh. Then, friends, you know what the evils of the times are: if you overcome the evils of the times wherein you live and are, then shall you be made partakers of this excellency, and fulness of Christ, and so this concerns you.

If our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ hath therefore received all this excellency and fulness from the Father, that he may give it out to you; then it concerns you, and much concerns you. Now why hath Christ received all this excellency from the Father; why hath he received the Spirit; why was he anointed with the Spirit? He tells you in Isa. lxi. 1, "The Spirit of the Lord God is upon me, because the Lord hath anointed me." Why? "To preach good tidings unto the meek, he hath sent me to bind up the broken hearted, to proclaim liberty to the captives, and the opening of the prison to them that are bound:" for this cause was I anointed. And why hath our Lord and Saviour Christ received gifts? The apostle tells us, and the Psalmist tells us, "for men, for the rebellious also," Eph. iv. 8; Ps. lxviii. 18. Will you say, Oh, but I am a poor rebel? He hath received gifts for men, for wicked men, even for rebels: Paul was a rebel, and Christ received gifts for Paul, even that rebel. And why hath he received all power in heaven and earth from God the Father, but in reference to your concernments? Matt. xxviii. 18, "Jesus came and spake unto them, saying, All power is given unto me in heaven and in earth." What then? "Go ye therefore and teach all nations, baptizing them in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost; teaching them to observe all things whatsoever I have commanded you, and lo, I am with you alway, even unto the end of the world." Go ye therefore; mark what a therefore is here: "All power is given unto me in heaven and in earth; go ye therefore." Jesus Christ hath received all power in heaven and in earth in reference to your concernments; therefore it is much to you, that there is that in Jesus Christ whereby he is able to succour, comfort, and relieve in the worst of times.

Yet again, If that our Lord and Saviour Christ doth therefore stoop to your infirmities, because he is clothed with majesty and excellency, and invested with all this power; then this that I have said is to you, and much to you. Now

look into John xiii., you have there an assurance of what you shall find in Christ now, by what he did then when he was to die, verse 3, "Jesus knowing that the Father had given all things into his hands, he riseth from supper, and laid aside his garments, and took a towel and girded himself: after that he poured water into a bason, and began to wash the disciples' feet." Whence doth this arise? See at verse 3, "Jesus knowing that the Father had given all things into his hands;" he was not therefore proud, he did not therefore disdain his poor disciples; no, but he did condescend to them upon this account, and stoops to their infirmity: his humility prompts on his excellency to be good to us. Now if he therefore stoops to your infirmity, because he is clothed with excellency, then this that I have said is to you, and much to you. And so you have the doctrine cleared.

Now by way of application.

If this doctrine be true, that there is that in Jesus Christ alone, which may and can and doth afford sufficient comfort and relief in the worst of times and conditions; what a mighty encouragement is here for every one to get into Christ, to get an interest in Christ? Get but an interest in Christ, and you have a standing relief in the worst of times and conditions: no interest in Christ, no relief in the worst of times. Who would not get an interest in Christ? If there be any such here that are yet without an interest in Christ, man or woman, consider what there is in Christ; there is, as you have heard, that in Christ that will afford sufficient comfort and relief in the worst of times; times are evil, oh, be encouraged to get an interest in Christ.

If this doctrine be true, why should we then complain? why should we be discouraged in such times as these, or any time or condition we can come into? "Shall the living man complain?" Lam. iii. 39. Shall a living christian complain that hath a living relief by him? The book of Job says of the wicked, "That in the fulness of his sufficiency he shall be in straits," chap. xx. 22, and shall we be in straits in the midst of Christ's sufficiency? Shall we complain or be discouraged when we have Christ's sufficiency for our relief at all times? You have heard of that woman, who when she met with any loss, would still comfort herself thus: True, I have lost such a child, or I have lost such a friend;

such a friend, or such a relation is dead, but still God is alive: and when she had lost her husband, and cried and lamented very much, her child came to her, and asked her: But mother, is your God dead? So may men say to us, while we complain and are discouraged in these times, Is your God dead? is your Saviour dead? But either there is a reality in this doctrine or not; if not, why doth the Scripture speak at this rate as you have heard? and if there be a truth in this doctrine, we should we be discouraged or complain whatever our condition be?

If this doctrine be true, why should we not own Christ in the worst of times? Why should we not confess Christ in the worst of times? Shall Christ be our relief in the worst of times, and shall we not own and confess him in the worst of times? Shall we not own his truth, and ways, and ordinances, and confess them before the sons of men in the worst of times? When the sun shines scorching hot, men run to the shadow of the tree; and when it rains much, men run under the tree for shelter; but when the heat is over, and the rain over, the tree stands alone, and no man looks after it. So long as the sun shines upon the dial, you will run to the dial; but when the sun is off the dial, you come not at it. So when the times shine upon the ordinances, the truths and ways of God, many will run to them, but when the shine is gone, and truth be in the dark, the sun off, how few will own Christ and his truth? But if this doctrine be true, why should we not own and confess Christ in the worst of times?

If this doctrine be true, here you may see, what an evil thing it is to sin against Christ. It is to sin against our remedy, our relief; it is to sin against our succour; of all sins those sins are worst that are against the remedy: therefore, as I use to say, adultery in married persons, is worse than fornication in those that are unmarried, because it is against the remedy. Christ is our remedy, our relief, in the worst of times; therefore to sin against Christ, oh, what a great sin is it? It is to sin against the remedy.

Now look when men offend the weak brethren in things indifferent, the apostle says expressly, they sin against Christ, 1 Cor. viii. 12.

And look when men and women will not believe, notwith-

standing all the offers of grace and love that Christ makes to their souls; then they sin against Christ.

And look when a professor, a member of a church shall walk scandalously, haunt taverns or alehouses, or deal unjustly, and is a dishonour to the name of Christ, he sins against Christ.

And look when men persecute the ways and people of Christ, they sin against Christ. "Saul, Saul, why persecutest thou me?" Acts ix. 4. These and many other ways do men sin against Christ; and oh, what an evil thing it is to sin against Christ; it is to sin against the remedy, the greatest remedy in the world: take heed how ye sin against Christ.

If this doctrine be true, that there is that in Jesus Christ, which may and can and doth afford sufficient comfort and relief in the worst of times and conditions; then here we may see, what we should do, and whither we should go for relief; why should we not go to Christ for relief in all conditions, and relieve ourselves in him upon all occasions? If there were a sovereign water that would cure all diseases, what flocking of people would there be unto that water: here is that water, that sovereign water; Christ alone, that can cure all diseases, that can succour and relieve in the worst of times: why should we not now come to him, and draw water out of this well of salvation?

But you will say, I confess indeed Christ is the well of salvation, and there is enough in him to succour and relieve; but the well is deep, and my line is short, and my arm is weak, and I know not how to get this water: I know not how to improve Christ; what shall I do that I may be able to draw water out of this well of salvation? What shall I do that I may improve Christ, for my succour and relief in the worst of times and conditions?

I answer, If you would draw water out of this well of salvation, and improve Christ for your relief and succour; be sure of this, that you look upon Christ as the great institution and appointment of the Father for all those succours and reliefs that are in your eye. In John vi., saith Christ, "Ye seek me, not because ye saw the miracles, but because ye did eat of the loaves, and were filled:" but at verse 20, says he, "Labour not for the meat which perisheth, but for the

meat which endureth unto everlasting life." Where shall I have it? "Which the Son of man shall give unto you." How shall I get it from him? Look upon him as the appointment of the Father, "for him hath God the Father sealed," him hath God the Father appointed; look upon him therefore, and go to him, as the great appointment of the Father for the very thing you want.

Be sure of this, that you make good your interest in Christ: get assurance of your interest in him; else you will be afraid to come at him; "For all things are yours, (saith the apostle) whether Paul, or Apollos, or Cephas, or the world, or life, or death:" why? "For ye are Christ's, 1 Cor. iii. 21—23. But if you be not assured of this, that ye are Christ's and Christ yours; how can ye relieve yourselves in Christ in an evil day? Get therefore an assurance of your interest in Christ.

Observe what those attributes and titles of Christ are which are most suited unto your condition, and lay them much before you, and press your hearts therewithal; it is not enough for us to come to Christ in the general, but we must come to him, and deal with him according to those attributes, or titles, that are suited to our condition: Christ is willing we should do so, and hath on purpose clothed himself with such titles as suit our condition; the iind and iiird of Revelation are a proof of this very thing; all the epistles to the seven churches begin with titles of Christ: in the epistle to the church of Ephesus, there is one title; in the epistle to the church of Smyrna, there is another title, and so to all the seven churches: every epistle begins with a several title of Christ, and according to the condition of the church he writes to, so is the title he begins with. As to instance in the church of Smyrna, verse 8, here his title is, "The first and the last, which was dead, and is alive," Rev. ii. 8. Why this title? He writes to the church in Smyrna that was to suffer hard things, verse 10, "Fear none of these things which thou shalt suffer, behold the devil shall cast some of you into prison,:" is that all? is the prison all? No, says he, "Be thou faithful unto death, ye shall have tribulation ten days:" relating to the ten persecutions in the primitive times, dying times: what then? Now remember my titles, my attributes; this is my name and title; the first and the

last, which was dead, and is alive: see how this title suited to their condition. And, friends, assure yourselves of this, that Christ will certainly make good his titles that he is clothed with: David assured himself of it, "The Lord is my Shepherd." What then? "I shall not want," Ps. xxiii. 1. He will make good his title, I know I shall not want; he relieved himself in that title of Christ that suited his condition. So do you do this day; as for example: Is there distress among the saints and people of God? Remember his title, he is the "King of saints," Rev. xv. 3. Is there great distress of nations? Remember his title, he is "King of nations," Jer. x. 7. Are you under any dimness or vexation, as it is in this chapter? Remember his title, "A light is risen up, a marvellous light." Thus be sure you deal with Christ according to that title of his that is most suited to your condition.

Be sure of this, that you study Christ and your condition together; some study their condition, stand poring upon their condition, but they do not study Christ, and they are full of unbelief; some think much on Christ, but not on their own condition, and they are given to presumption; but would you find true relief in Christ whatever your condition be? Then study Christ and your condition together, as thus: Christ is a King, a Priest, and a Prophet: if you be ignorant, now think on Christ as a Prophet; if you be guilty, now think on Christ as a Priest; if you be disorderly, now think on Christ as a King. Thus study Christ and your condition together.

Be sure of this, that you put Christ upon it, to succour and relieve you in the worst of times; to do that for you that he hath entitled himself unto: so David did Ps. xxxi. See how he argues, and his argument is exceeding good; "Lord, (says he, verse 2) be thou my strong rock:" why? "for thou art my rock," verse 3. Lord, this is thy name, this is thy title: "Thou art my rock;" then "be my rock:" and says he, verse 4, "Pull me out of the net that they have laid privily for me, for thou art my strength." I have to deal with enemies, and they have laid their net privily for me; "Pull me out of the net that they have laid privily for me, for thou art my strength." So now, popish men have laid their net privily for us, and we may go to Christ and

say, Lord, pull us out of the net that they have laid privily for us, for thou art our strength. Thus put Christ upon it to answer his titles.

If you would find succour, comfort, and relief in Christ in the worst of times and conditions; then rest upon him in opposition to all other helps and shifts, or unlawful means of deliverance, in case you come into any strait: Christ is so much yours, as you rest upon him; as our resting on the promise makes it ours, so our resting on Christ makes him ours. And you know how graciously the Lord appeared to the three children; Christ came and walked with them in the fiery furnace, and delivered them, Dan. iii. 25. How so? They rested on him: "We know that our God is able to deliver us, we will not bow down to the idol," whatever comes on us: "We know our God is able to deliver us," verse 17, 18. Here they rested upon him alone in opposition to all unworthy shifts, and unlawful means for deliverance, and then Christ appeared and gave out his succour and relief to them.

If you would find succour, comfort and relief in Christ upon all occasions, and in all conditions, then go to God by prayer; go and beg of God to open your eyes, that you may see this fountain that is by you: it is possible that your eyes may be held, as Hagar's were; Hagar had the fountain by her, but she did not see it, for her eyes were held: and thus it is with many of us, Christ our fountain is by, and we even sit down in despair; why? for our eyes are held. Go then to God and beg of him to open your eyes that you may see this fountain.

And if you desire to draw water out of this well of salvation, and to improve Christ for your relief and comfort in the worst of times; then observe what those promises are that the Lord hath made to his people for the latter times, and be sure that you deal much with them. Christ comforts and relieves by promises: as the devil tempts by promises, so Christ comforts by promises; and when a man is relieved by a promise that Christ hath made, he is relieved by Christ. Now there are nine or ten promises that the Lord Christ hath made to the latter times for the comfort of his people, to be as a relief for his people in these latter times. I will but barely name them, and so conclude.

He hath promised them that they shall have understanding in the times: Dan. xii. 10, "The wicked shall do wickedly, and none of the wicked shall understand, but the wise shall understand."

He hath promised that they shall be sealed, set apart, hidden in the worst of times, in antichristian times: Rev. vii. compared with Rev. ix.

He hath promised that though they meet with antichristian tribulation, they shall come out with their garments washed in the blood of the Lamb: Rev. vii. 14, "These are they which came out of great tribulation, and have washed their robes, and made them white in the blood of the Lamb."

The Lord hath promised to his people in these latter times, that they shall continue in his temple day and night; that is, they shall enjoy the ordinances of God without interruption; though now they are scattered and driven from the house of God, the Lord hath promised such a time wherein they shall be in the temple day and night without interruption, Rev. vii. 15.

He hath promised to destroy all their antichristian enemies: "Babylon is fallen, it is fallen, and as a millstone is thrown into the sea; so shall Babylon be thrown down, and shall be found no more at all," Rev. xviii. 21.

The Lord hath promised that his people shall prophesy, though they be in sackcloth, they shall bear witness to the truths and ways of God, and shall prophesy: Rev. xi. 3, "I will give power unto my two witnesses, and they shall prophesy twelve hundred and sixty days." I will give them power, they shall prophesy and not be silent.

He hath promised, also, that the light and glory of his people shall be more than ever it was: Isa. xxx. 26, "Moreover, the light of the moon shall be as the light of the sun, and the light of the sun shall be seven-fold, as the light of seven days." When is this? "In the day that the Lord bindeth up the breach of his people, and healeth the stroke of their wound."

He hath promised to his people that they shall cease from their labour: Rev. xiv. 13, "Blessed are the dead which die in the Lord," that die for the Lord; "henceforth they rest from their labours, and their works do follow them."

There shall be a time here on earth wherein the saints shall rest from their labours.

The Lord hath promised that the number of his people shall be much increased. When the enemy went about to cut off all the males of the children of Israel, then the Israelites were much increased. And this the Lord hath promised, that in the latter days his people shall be greatly increased. When the witnesses shall rise (I do not mean an insurrection but a resurrection) it is said, "they ascend in a cloud," a company of people as a cloud shall come about them, to gratify them in their rising: "And there shall be a great earthquake, and in the earthquake slain of men seven thousand, and the remnant shall be affrighted, and give glory to God," Rev. xi. 12, 13. There shall be a great increase.

And, lastly, the Lord hath promised that the saints shall rule the world, and the government shall be given unto them; not that any should go about to wrest the government out of the hands of the present powers; but, in Dan. vii. 27, the Lord hath promised, "that the kingdom and dominion, and the greatness of the kingdom under the whole heaven shall be given to the people of the saints of the Most High, whose kingdom is an everlasting kingdom."

These ten things the Lord hath promised to his people in the latter days. Those that lived in the apostles' days, they comforted themselves in these promises them; they comforted themselves in the book of the Revelation then. The book of the Revelation is a book on purpose for the comfort and relief of the people of God in antichristian times: and if it was a comfort and relief to them in the apostles' days, what may it be unto us upon whom the last days are come? Christ comforts by promises; and when a man is comforted and relieved by a promise made by Christ, he is comforted by Christ; and Christ hath given out these great promises for the latter times. Now you see into what times we are fallen. Are the times evil? Do they grow worse; and will they yet grow worse before they grow better? Then remember this doctrine, and comfort yourselves therein. There is that in Jesus Christ alone, that may, and can, and doth afford sufficient comfort and relief in the worst of times and conditions. Go then to Christ

upon all occasions; do not let relief stand by and not use it; Christ takes it kindly that you make use of him, and the more you use him the more kindly he takes it.

REMAINS,

BEING

EIGHT SERMONS,

1.—ON MAN'S BLESSEDNESS.
2.—AFFECTIONS RIGHTLY PLACED.
3.—HOW TO WALK WITH GOD IN OUR CALLING.
4.—OF GOOD AND BAD COMPANY.
5.—THE CARNALITY OF PROFESSORS.
6.—WHAT OUR WORK IS, AND HOW TO BE DONE.
7.—SOUL RESIGNATION INTO THE HANDS OF GOD.
8.—THE DIGNITY AND DUTY OF GOD'S CALLED ONES.

A. D. 1673.

[This series of Sermons which was published in 1673, under the title of Bridge's Remains, was designed by the Author for the press, as appears by the marginal notes, except the eighth Sermon, which was the last the author preached, and which was taken down in short-hand, and published by his son-in-law, after they were perused by the Rev. William Greenhill.]

REMAINS.

SERMON I.

ON MAN'S BLESSEDNESS; OR, THE BLESSED MAN.

"Many there be that say, Who will shew us any good! Lord, lift thou up the light of thy countenance upon us."—PSALM IV. 6.

IN this psalm we are taught, by David's example, how to carry and behave ourselves in times of danger. By David two things are done, which are the parts of the psalm.

First, He prays, ver. 1.

Secondly, He believes; which appears by,

His exhortation to his enemies, ver. 2—6.

The profession of his faith, see ver. 7 to the end. Which profession of his faith is illustrated by an argument drawn *a dissimili*, ver. 7, "Many say," &c. but, "Lord," &c.

By his own security in this time of trouble, verse 8.

"Many there be that say:" that is, not with the mouth only, but by the language of their lives and practices, for even those that are dumb do say, "Who will shew us any good?" who will shew us, or will make us to see or enjoy any good? The words note an ardency of their desire, "Who will shew us any good?" But I say, "Lord, lift thou up the light of thy countenance (or face) upon me;" that is, shew thy love and thy favour to me. The elevation of God's face or countenance, in scripture phrase, doth note the communication and manifestation of the gracious presence and favour of God. For it is a metaphor drawn from the rising sun, scattering the beams of its light so upon inferior creatures, that thereby life and comfort is brought unto them. This David prays for, and chooses in opposition to the generality of men's desires. And so the doctrine is this:

Though men do ordinarily seek after something that may make them happy in this world, yet a gracious man doth

count himself fully happy in the enjoyment of God, and the light of his countenance.

It is true, indeed, there is an happiness to be obtained, saith he, and ordinary men do seek this happiness in the crowd and throng of the creatures; but as for me, I do not place my happiness there, but in the clear enjoyment of God. Whatever, therefore, men say or do in reference to their happiness, this is that I say, "Lord, lift thou up the light of thy countenance upon me." So that, though men do ordinarily seek after something that may make them happy in the world; yet a good and gracious man doth account himself fully happy in the enjoyment of God and the light of his countenance. For the opening and prosecuting whereof:

First, I shall labour to shew you that there is a disposition in men, to seek after something that may make them happy.

Secondly, That they are commonly mistaken in the matter of their happiness.

Thirdly, Yet there is a generation of men, who have found out true happiness, and are truly blessed.

Fourthly, Wherein this happiness doth consist, and why it doth consist therein?

Fifthly, How a man shall know, whether he hath ever been thus blessed, or enhappied with the light of God's countenance shining on him?

Sixthly, How he may attain hereunto?

As for the first, That there is a disposition in men to seek after something that may make them happy. This text saith, "Many say, Who will shew us any good?" By which *many*, we are, saith Dr. Ames, to understand all men.* But that cannot be, because here is an opposition in David's practice, to the practice of this many: but his practice was not opposed unto all, but to the generality of men generally; therefore there is a disposition in men, to seek after something that may make them happy. In the beginning man was truly happy, and though he be now fallen from that happiness, yet there is a disposition in him still to grope after

* Nemo est mortalium qui habet in votis ut fruatur bono: hoc est, naturale est omnium creaturarum commune tendere in aliquem finem, sub aliqua ratione boni, finis enim et bonum convertuntur, homini autem maxime convenit, qui præditus est intellectu, quo finem apprehendit ibi proponit et ad illum per media contendit.—Ames in Psalm.

Agere propter finem est proprium creaturæ rationalis.—Aquinas.

happiness. Ye see how it is with a house that is burnt down, though it be burnt down to the ground, there are divers pieces of timber left; though scorched and burned and spoiled, yet left: and so, though man be fallen, and that goodly building which God created at the first be now burned down to the ground, yet there are certain scorched and spoiled principles left in him; and what more natural to man than to desire that he may be happy: surely, therefore, there is a disposition still in man to seek after happiness. Look how far a man knows that a thing is good, so far he may act and seek after it, because good is the object of man's will; but every man knows in general that it is good for him to be happy.

It is true, indeed, that naturally men do not distinctly know wherein their happiness lies; but as Aquinas observes,* there is a general knowledge of happiness, and there is a distinct and right understanding of it. Now though all men have not this distinct knowledge of our happiness, yet all men have a general knowledge of it, and they know that it is good for them to be happy; surely, therefore, there is a disposition in all the children of men to seek after something that may make them happy. But,

Secondly, Though there be such a disposition in men, yet they are generally mistaken in the matter of their happiness. Many say, Who will shew us any good? but, Lord, lift thou up the light of thy countenance, &c. It seems, then, that there is a general mistake amongst men in reference to this happiness. Is not he mistaken herein that doth bless himself in the way of his sin? some do so, Deut. xxix. 19. Is not he mistaken herein that doth bless the covetous, whom God hates? some do so, Psalm x. Is not he mistaken that doth place his happiness in the enjoyment of the creature? and who doth not so? Oh, says one, if I can but attain to such and such an estate, then I shall be happy. Oh, says another, I am now reviled and reproached; if I can but clear myself,

† Utrum omnis homo appetat beatitudinem? Item quod beatitudo dupliciter potest considerari, et primo secundum communem rationem beatitudinis, et sit necesse est, quod omnis homo beatitudinem velit, ratio autem beatitudinis communis est, ut sit bonum perfectum, &c. Secundo possumus loquide beatitudine secundum specialem rationem quantum, ad id in quo beatitudo consistit, et sic non omnes cognoscant beatitudinem qui nesciunt cui rei communis ratio beatitudinis conveniat, ut per consequens, quantum ad hoc non omnes eam volunt.—Aquinas 12 æ. q. 5, a. 8.

and come off with honour, then I shall be happy. Oh, says another, I have such and such an adversary, if I can but overcome him, then I shall be happy. What man is there that doth not place his happiness in one creature comfort or another? Do not some place their happiness in pleasure, some in riches, some in honour, some in power, some in health, strength, and beauty of body; some in knowledge, wit and learning; some in moral, civil life, and other excellencies? But if happiness cannot be found in these, either singly or together, then surely there is a great mistake amongst the children of men in reference to there last end and happiness. Now what creature excellency is there in all the world that can give this happiness to the children of men? Certainly none.*

For will ye instance in the strength and health and beauty of one's body. Indeed our health is the salt of all the mercies and comforts which we do enjoy; but may not a bad and wicked man enjoy his health and strength and beauty as well as a good man, and can any wicked man be happy: happiness consists in a stable good, but what more unstable and uncertain than our health and strength and beauty. Surely, therefore, our happiness is not to be found therein. Or,

Will ye instance in riches, wealth, and this world's goods. It is the property of happiness to be desireable for itself; it is that good thing which all things are desired for, and which is desired for nothing else: but riches are desired for something else, not for themselves; and if it be a man's duty sometimes to part with them and to despise them, then our happiness cannot consist in them, but we are sometimes to part with all these things for Christ. Surely, therefore, our happiness is not to be found therein.

Will ye instance in honour, fame and credit in this world. What more uncertain than that which is not one's own? Is it not a better thing to deserve honour than to be honourable? But that is truly blessed which is best of all. And if it be more safe for a man to be reproached sometimes, than to be applauded, then our happiness cannot consist in honour; but as Seneca says, *Beatus est qui contemnere potest et contemni:* He is a happy man that can contemn and be contemned. If I be reproached, then I learn to walk humbly; if I be ap-

* Vide Aquin. Sum. i. 2 æ. contra gent. l. 3. Suar. de Beat. Anton. panth. ps. 1.

plauded, then I grow proud thereby. And ye know what was the issue of Haman's honour. Surely, therefore, our happiness cannot consist therein. Or,

Will ye instance in power and outward greatness in this world. What doth more depend on others? That which depends on many other men's wills cannot be my happiness; so doth all worldly power and greatness do: there is nothing better than our happiness. Now worldly power may be used to evil; and that is better which cannot be used or abused to evil: but so worldly power may be; surely, therefore, our happiness cannot consist therein. Or,

Will ye instance in pleasure, which is the great Diana of the world, that is common to brute beasts; and can that make a man truly happy which the beasts have. If pleasure make a man happy, then the more pleasure he takes the more happy he is; but the more pleasure that a man takes, the more wicked he is. It is the property of true happiness to elevate the mind, to ennoble the soul, and to justify the heart; but the more carnal pleasure a man takes, the more his mind is depressed, his soul effeminated, and the less his heart is satisfied. Surely, therefore, our happiness cannot consist therein. Or,

Will ye instance in knowledge, wit and wisdom. Solomon tells you, that "in much wisdom is much grief, and he that increaseth knowledge increaseth sorrow," Eccles. i. Surely, therefore, our happiness cannot consist therein. Or,

Will ye instance in moral virtues, and in a civil life; the more happy that any man is, the more he doth draw nigh and is made like to God; but a man is not made like to God by moral virtues or a civil life: surely, therefore, our happiness cannot consist therein.

But though our happiness doth not consist in any of these alone, yet it may be that all these together can make one happy.

Nay, for put all these things together, yea, put all the good things and comforts of this world together, yet they are not sufficient for to make one happy;* for take the good things

* Omnes creaturæ sine Deo, non possunt esse sufficiens objectum humanæ beatitudinis.—Suar. de Beat. Disp. § 1.

Solus Deus, sine consortio alicujus creaturæ, est sufficiens objectum beatitudinis.—Ib. § 2.

of this world, and abstract them from the enjoyment of God, and though they be never so many, yet they are dependent things which do depend on another, and can that make you truly happy which doth depend on another? Take all the blessings and comforts of the world together, and they cannot make a man godly that is ungodly; now can that make you happy which cannot make you good? What is there in the world, take it singly, or in society with others, which is free from imperfection; and can that make you perfect which is in itself imperfect? The more that any superior thing is mingled with its inferior, the more it is defiled. Is not gold defiled by being mixed with silver; is not silver defiled by being mixed with brass; is not wine defiled by being mixed with water; is not wheat defiled by being mixed with chaff? Now take all the creatures in the world together, and they are inferior to your souls. Surely, therefore, you may be defiled, but you cannot be made happy or blessed thereby. Yet, Lord, how many are there that say, concerning these outward things, Who will shew us any good? Why? Because they are mistaken in the matter of their happiness.

But how comes it to pass that men are thus mistaken in the matter of their happiness?

Sometimes this mistake doth arise from ignorance of the right and true notion of happiness. If a countryman that hath heard of a king, go up to the court, and see a knight, or lord, or prince come out in fine and brave apparel, he saith, Lo, there is the king; because he knows him not by face; a general notion he hath of a king, but not having the true notion of his person, he is mistaken, and saith, Lo, there is my king and sovereign. So a man having heard that there is something that will make one happy, but not having the right and true notion of it, he is thereby mistaken in the choice of his happiness; as for example: it is truly said, that he that is happy hath what he would; now men turn this principle, and say, He that hath what he would have is a happy man: and so if a wanton hath the embraces of his beloved, then he says, Now am I happy, because I have what I would; so if a drunkard meet with his vain and wicked companion, he saith, Now am I happy, because I have what I would: whereas in truth, as Austin's mother said, He is not happy that hath what he would, but he that wills aright, and then hath what

he would.* But because men are ignorant thereof, and have not the true notion of happiness in their hearts, therefore they are so mistaken.

Sometimes this mistake doth arise from the misapplication of the true notion of happiness. For what is happiness but the enjoyment of that which doth command all things else? But now, through misapplication of this notion, men say, Money commands all things; and therefore the more money I get, the more happy I am: and so are mistaken in the matter of their happiness.

Sometimes men are mistaken herein, because they measure their happiness by their own present want. For, saith Aristotle,† if you look into your experience, ye shall find, that if a man be poor, then he thinks it an happiness to be rich; if a man be disgraced, then he thinks it is his happiness to be vindicated; if a man be sick, then he thinks there is no greater happiness in the world than to have his health; and so men measuring their happiness by their own present wants are mistaken therein.

But ordinarily men are mistaken in the matter of their happiness, because they do not hearken to and consider what is spoken to them about true happiness. Famous is that story of Crœsus among the heathens; he was a king of a great country, and boasted in his gold and silver, and Solon, that wise man of Greece, coming into his country, he desired to speak with him, and when he saw him, after Solon had seen and viewed all his wealth and glory, he asked him, Whom he thought to be the most happy man in the world; imagining that Solon would have said Crœsus. But Solon answered, I think Tellus was the most happy man; Tellus, saith he, why Tellus? Because, said Solon, he having governed the commonwealth well, and brought up his child honestly and religiously, he died honourably.‡ Well then, said Crœsus, but who dost thou think is the second happy man in the world? I think, said he, those two brothers,

* Si bona velit et habet beatus est, si autem mala velit et quamvis habeat miser est.—Augustini Confess.

† Aristotle Ethic. i. 1.

‡ Τελλω τουτω μεν παιδες ησαν καλοι και αγαθοι πολλοι μεν γαρ πλουτοι ανθρωπων ανολβιοι εισι, πολλοι δε μετριως εχοντες βιου ευτυχεες. Vide Heroditus, lib. i.

that instead of horses, drew their mother in a chariot to the temple. Whereupon, said Crœsus, What thinkest thou of me? I think, said he, thou art a very rich man; but a man may be happy though he be poor, and a man may be unhappy though he be rich, for he may lose all his riches before he die; and therefore, *ante obitum nemo*, I think none truly happy, but he that lives well, and dies well; whereupon that wise man Solon was dismissed the court with neglect: but afterwards this Crœsus making war against Cyrus, he was overcome by Cyrus, and being taken captive, he was laid upon a pile of wood to be burned to death; then lying on the pile of wood, he cried out and said, O Solon, Solon. Cyrus inquiring what he meant, then he said, This Solon was a wise man of Greece, that told me, that happiness did not consist in riches, for they might all be lost, and a rich man might die miserable; whose words, said he, I then neglected, but now I find true, and therefore now I cry out and say, O Solon, Solon. And truly thus it is at this day, preachers call upon men, and tell them, that our happiness lies not in these outward things, and they do not regard it. But there is a time coming when men will cry out and say, O Solon, Solon; but for the present, men will not hear and consider where their happiness lies, and therefore they are thus mistaken in the matter of heir thappiness. But thus now you have heard, that men are mistaken, and how it comes to pass that they are so mistaken; and so I have done with the second general, now the third follows.

Thirdly, Though men are generally mistaken in the matter of their happiness, yet there is a generation of men who have found out this happiness, and are truly blessed. Many say, Who will shew us any good, but I say otherwise; plainly then, there is a generation of men that have found out this happiness, and are truly blest; for those that the Scripture calls blessed, are blessed indeed. Now there is a generation of men whom the Scripture calls blessed, and if you would know who these are, I will instance to you in some particulars.

The Scripture calls them blessed, that have their sins pardoned, "Blessed is the man whose iniquity is forgiven, and whose sin is covered," Rom. iv.

The Scripture calls them blessed whom the Lord doth teach the mysteries of his kingdom, "Blessed is the man

whom thou teachest out of thy law," Ps. xciv. 12. "Blessed art thou Simon Bar-jona: for flesh and blood hath not revealed it to thee, but my Father," Matt. xvi. 17.

The Scripture calls them blessed that wait at the posts of wisdom, and are made wise thereby, "Blessed is the man that heareth me, and waiteth daily at my gates, watching at the posts of my door," Prov. viii. 35. "Happy is the man that findeth wisdom and getteth understanding," Prov. iii. 13. so again, verse 18, "and happy is every one that retaineth her."

The Scripture calls them blessed that are of a meek, humble, and a pure spirit. "Blessed are the poor in spirit." "Blessed are the pure in heart." "Blessed are the meek in spirit," Matt. v.

The Scripture calls them blessed that do walk in God's ways, and not in the ways of the world. Ps. i. "Blessed is the man that walketh not in the counsel of the ungodly, nor standeth in the way of sinners, nor sitteth in the seat of the scornful, but his delight is in the law of the Lord, and in his law doth meditate day and night." So Ps. cxix. 1, "Blessed is the man that is undefiled in the way," and so again, Ps. cxii. 1, "Blessed is the man that feareth the Lord, and delighteth greatly in his commandments."

The Scripture calls them blessed that suffer for Christ, his way, and truth, and name. Matt v., "Blessed are ye when men persecute and revile you for my name's sake."

The Scripture calls them blessed that consider the poor saints and people of God, who have bowels of love and compassions. Ps. xli. "Blessed is the man that considereth the poor."

The Scripture calls them blessed that know and do the work of their place and office, both to God and man. John xiii. 17, "I say unto you, saith Christ, the servant is not greater than the lord, if ye know these things, happy are ye if you do them."

The Scripture calls them blessed that wait and prepare for the deliverance of the churches, and the coming of Christ: "behold I come as a thief, blessed is he that watcheth and keepeth his garments," Rev. xvi.

The Scripture calls them blessed that die in the Lord, and are found so doing when Christ comes; blessed is that ser-

vant whom, when the Lord comes he shall find so doing," Matt. xxiv. "And blessed are those that die in the Lord," Rev. xiv. 13. Do you therefore ask who is this blessed man, the man that is truly blessed? the Scripture tells you in all these particulars, so that doubtless there is a generation of men that have found this happiness, and are truly blessed; that is the third general, now the fourth follows.

Fourthly, Wherein the true blessedness or happiness doth consist; the text tells you, "in the light of God's countenance and the shine of his face;"* for look wherein God did command the priests of old for to bless his people, therein true blessedness must needs consist; now if ye look into Numbers vi. 23, ye shall find that therein God commanded Aaron and his sons for to bless the people; "On this wise ye shall bless the children of Israel, saying, The Lord bless thee and keep thee, the Lord make his face to shine upon thee and be gracious unto thee, the Lord lift up his countenance upon thee;" and if you look into Ps. lxvii. 1, ye shall find that when the psalmist prayed for a blessing, he prayed thus, "The Lord be merciful unto us, and bless us, and cause his face to shine upon us." Surely therefore the happiness and blessedness of man must needs lie and consist in the light of God's countenance, and the shine of his face.

But if our blessedness doth consist herein, then some of God's own people are not blessed; for God doth hide his face from some of them, and how many are there, even amongst the saints, that complain, saying, Oh, the face of God doth not shine upon me?

I answer, True they do so, and it is possible that God may hide his face from his own children for a time; but what child of God is there in all the world, but the face of God hath shined upon. It is possible that a child of a natural father, may never see the face of his father; his father may be dead before he is born; but no child of God but hath seen his Father's face: for what is the face of God but his favour; and what is the shine thereof but the manifestation of his favour; and when God pardoned his sin at the first, did not he manifest his love and favour to him? And doth he not

* Beatitudo formalis consistit in fruitione beatitudinis objectivæ, beatitudo autem objectiva est Deus: quia est bonum perfectum saticns appetitum.

daily do it in supporting him with his arm? In the times of the Old Testament, the saints did measure the favour of God too much by outward mercies and blessings; because the land of Canaan was promised them as a favour from God, when the enemy did break in upon them, they said, That God did then hide his face from them; but ye know how it is with the day; if it be day, the sun shines, and though ye see not the beams thereof, yet you see the light thereof; so here, though you see not the beams of God's countenance, yet if it be day with you, you see the light thereof. Now it is day with all the children of God, they are children of the day; and therefore whatever they say or think, there is none of God's children, but the face of God doth or hath shined upon.

Fifthly, But how shall I know that the face of God hath ever shined on my soul, for there are many delusions about this matter; how shall I therefore know that God hath ever lifted up the light of his countenance upon my soul?

That is the fifth general, therefore I shall now speak to that. If God hath ever blessed you in truth, then hath his face shined upon you; for his blessing and the shine of his face go together, as ye have heard. Now when God blesses a man, then he draws him nearer to himself, "Blessed is the man (saith the Psalmist) whom thou causest to approach unto thee;" when God blesses a man, then he makes him to increase and multiply; if he bless him in his estate, then he doth increase and multiply therein: if he bless him in his parts, or gifts, or graces, or comforts, then he causeth him to increase therein; so at the beginning the Lord blessed man and said, "Increase and multiply." And therefore if thou hast been such an one as hath lived at a distance from God, and now art brought nigh to him, and increased in thy gifts, graces, and comforts, then hath the Lord blessed thy soul, and so hath shined on thee.

If God hath ever shined upon thy soul, then he hath wonderfully irradiated, and enlightened, and taught thy soul the mysteries of the gospel, which did never enter in thy heart before. Ps. lxvii. 1, 2, the Psalmist saith, "Be merciful unto us, and bless us, and cause thy face to shine upon us, that thy way may be known," &c. And says the apostle, 2 Cor. iv. 4—6, "God that commanded light to shine out of

darkness, shine into your hearts, to give you the knowledge of the glory of God in the face of Jesus Christ."

If this light of God's countenance hath indeed shined upon your heart, then your other carnal, kitchen lights have been put out thereby. Ye see that when the sun shines upon the kitchen fire it doth put it out; so if ever God hath shined upon your soul, there hath such a glory fallen upon your hearts, that thereby all your carnal, kitchen comforts and delights have been put out thereby.

If God hath shined upon thy soul in truth, then are you satisfied with the light of God's countenance, and yet your desire after it is the more increased. This seems to be a paradox, but it is true; the more a man sees the light of God's countenance, the more he longs after it; and the more he longs after it, the more he is satisfied with it. "Shew us the Father (saith Thomas) and it sufficeth;" I have now that, saith the soul, which doth make me happy; therefore I am fully satisfied, yet I have tasted such sweetness in it, as I cannot but thirst and long after more. Oh, when shall I come and appear before thee, that I may be fully satisfied with thy likeness.

If the face of God hath ever shined upon your soul, then there hath been a time when you were in the dark, and by the light of God's countenance, your doubts and fears have been all dispelled at once. God never shines but upon those that have been in the dark; "God that commanded light to shine out of darkness, shine into your hearts," saith the apostle, and when God shines, then all your fears, and doubts, and objections are answered at once; not by degrees, and one after another, but the face of God answers all at once. As when the husband comes home, though his wife have had many fears that she should never see him again; yet when she sees his face, then all her fears and doubts are answered at once; so here, although you have had many fears that you should never see the face of God again, yet when his face shines, then all your doubts are answered at once.

If the face of God have ever shined upon your soul in truth, then have you been thereby enabled to do and act some great thing for God, and you have had a heart given you to do it. Cant. i. 12, "When the king sits at his table, my

spikenard sendeth forth the smell thereof." By spikenard here, we are to understand the sweet smelling fruits and graces of the spouse of Christ. Now saith she, these graces send forth their smell when Christ sits at his table: when I have the gracious presence of Christ, then are my graces most odoriferous, then can I act and do that for Christ which I never could before, then my graces do send forth their smell, then can I do some great and special thing for Christ. And,

If the face of God did never shine upon your soul, then you could and would not be so afflicted for the want thereof. *Ignoti nulla cupido*, if you had not tasted of this sweetness, you could not be so afflicted for the want thereof; but when you think that God hides his face from you, then you are as one that goes down to the pit, and you say, Oh, all the world for one smile from Christ. Lord, let me see thy face though I be a beggar, and though I have no comforts in this world, yet let my see thy face, for I am not able to live without the light of thy countenance.

And if ever you have seen the face of God in truth, then hath your heart been inflamed with love to Christ upon that account: for by him you had your address into the presence of God, by him and in him God's face doth shine upon your soul. God that commanded light to shine out of darkness, shine into our hearts, to give us the knowledge of God in the face of Jesus Christ. Though you cannot behold and look upon the sun in his full glory; yet if you look upon the water where the sun shines, you may see the sun. Now God shineth upon Christ, and in him you do see God's face; and therefore if ever God did in truth shine upon your soul, then hath your heart been inflamed with love to Christ upon this account; but if your heart were never inflamed with love to Christ upon this score, if you were never afflicted for the want of God's face and presence, if you never were enabled to do any great thing for Christ, if you never were in the dark in reference to your spiritual condition, if your desires after God were never satisfied and increased at once, if your kitchen fire was never put out by divine irradiation upon your soul, if you have never been so blessed by the Lord as thereby to be drawn out of the world to himself and to be increased in spiritual things, then hath not God shined

on you to this day, and therefore you are yet to seek for your true happiness.

Sixthly, But suppose the face of God never yet shined on my soul, or that it hath shined, and is now hidden, what shall I do that the face of God may shine upon me, that so I may be made partaker of this true happiness and blessedness?

That is the sixth general which I will only speak unto and conclude. Would you have this light of God's countenance, and the face of God shining on you? then,

Be sure that you take heed of all the sins which do or have hid the face of God from you, Isaiah lix. 1, the prophet saith unto the people of God, "Your iniquities have separated between you and your God, and your sins have hid his face from you;" is God's face therefore hidden from you, look into your life and way, and consider what those sins are, and take heed thereof.

The way to have any mercy from God is to be upright in the desiring of it; "He will be a sun and shield to them that fear him, and no good thing will he withhold from them that walk uprightly." Is therefore the face of God shining, the good thing that you desire? Take heed that you do not desire it, merely for the sweetness of it.* It is a sweet thing to behold the sun, much more the shine of God's face, but if I desire it only for the sweetness of it, then I am not upright therein; take heed therefore of that.

If you would have the face of God shining on you, then be sure that you stand where God shines and blesses. "Out of Zion, the perfection of beauty, hath God shined; and there (saith the psalmist,) he commandeth his blessing, and life for evermore," Ps. l. 2. What is his blessing, but the shine of his face; and how doth he command it? By giving it: there "he commandeth his blessing." There then do you stand, where the Lord blesseth and shineth.

In case that God seemeth to hide his face from you at any time, then walk wisely and humbly towards God in the time of his supposed absence; then lament after God and his presence, as the greatest loss in the world; then take heed of jealousies, and do not say, God is gone and will return no more; then be much in obedience, and say, Well, though I

* Multi sunt gulosi spirituales. Avila.

cannot see God, yet I will serve him, and though I cannot enjoy him, yet I will obey him: and if you carry it wisely and humbly towards God in the time of his absence, then will he return again unto you, and will cause his face to shine upon you. But,

Take heed that you do not dig too deep into the earth: he that is much under ground, cannot see the sun or the shinings of it. So if you be much in the world and under ground, you cannot see the face of God, and the light of his countenance. Therefore take heed that you be not much under ground in your callings. And,

Whatever frowns you meet withal from men, be quiet under them and improve them; for usually God shines when man frowns. Do men therefore frown upon you, take their frowns quietly, and wait for a shining God now. And,

Be sure that you do not frown nor look awry upon any that are Christ's; for how should God look kindly on you, when you look unkindly on his? How should his face shine on you, when your face doth not shine on his? Therefore take heed that you frown not on any that are God's.

Then throw yourself down at God's feet in a quiet resignation of yourself unto God, for God will surely take them into his arms that do throw themselves down at his feet. If I can leave myself at Christ's feet, he will take me into his bosom, and I shall see his face: wherefore then throw yourself down at God's feet. And,

Pray, and pray much for the presence of God, and the shine of his face upon your soul. "Let him kiss me with the kisses of his mouth," saith the spouse. Ye have a command for this, "Seek the Lord and his strength; seek ye his face evermore," Ps. cv. 4. And the Lord hath promised to give you this mercy; for look what God promised to his people of old, that he promised to you and to all his people. Now he saith, "Neither will I hide my face any more from them," Ezek. xxxix. 29: though I have hid my face from them for a time, yet I will not hide my face any more from them. Would you, therefore, have the face of God to shine upon you? go and pray, and pray earnestly for the face and presence of God, and say with David here, "Lord, lift up the light of thy countenance upon me;" and thus shall you be made partakers of this great blessing. And thus I have

done with this argument, The blessedness of man, or the true blessed man.

SERMON II.

AFFECTIONS RIGHTLY PLACED.

"*Set your affections on things above.*"—COL. III. 2.

IN this verse the apostle Paul doth exhort the Colossians, and us by them, to seek and favour spiritual things. The exhortation is expressed and answered: expressed in the first verse, "Seek those things which are above," and in the second, "Set your affections on things above." It is enforced by divers arguments. One is drawn from our communion with Christ in his resurrection and ascension: "If ye then (as I have told you in the former chapter) be risen with Christ, seek those things that are above, for Christ sitteth on the right-hand of God." Another argument is drawn from our communion with Christ in his death: "Ye are dead, and your life is hid with God in Christ; therefore set your affections on things above, and not on the earth." Another argument is drawn from the danger of inordinate affection, for which things' sake "the wrath of God cometh on the children of disobedience," ver. 6. "Therefore mortify your members which are on the earth, fornication, uncleanness, inordinate affection," ver. 5. Another argument is drawn from our present relation, state and condition: "In the which ye also walked sometimes when ye lived in them; but you also put off all these," &c. ver. 7, 8. So that the words of the text are part of the exhortation itself, "Set your affections on things above, τα ανω φρονειτε. By things that are above, we must not only understand heaven, the joys and the glories of it, but all spiritual and heavenly things also, which are to be enjoyed and obtained here, which are from above, because "every good and perfect gift is from above, from the Father of lights;" and whatever grace or spiritual enjoyment we have on this side heaven, is the seed of that heavenly glory. Now these heavenly things we are to mind especially, φρονειτε, mind ye: but because the apostle had

called upon us to seek these things, in the former verse, and there is somewhat more in this than in the former, and the word doth not barely signify to mind a thing, but to mind it with favour ;* therefore we translate it thus, "Set your affections on things above." According, therefore, to our translation of the words, the doctrine is, That it is the duty of all the saints, to set their affections on things above; they are in a special manner for to mind the same, and to favour them, and they are to have their conversation in heaven; their treasure is there, and therefore there is their heart to be; and where our heart is, there our affections will be, for affections are the issues of the heart: as a man's heart is, so he affects, and as he affects, so his heart is. I know it is usual with philosophers and divines, to place their affections in *parte sensitiva;* but if we look into them, we shall find that affections in the general are these movings of the rational soul, whereby the heart is sensibly carried out upon good or evil, so as to embrace the one or refuse the other. I say they are,

The movings or motions of the reasonable soul. Ye shall observe, therefore, that when Jerusalem was much affected with the tidings of Christ's birth, it is said, "All Jerusalem was moved." And when the Jews were affected with envy against Paul and the brethren, it is said, "they were moved with envy:" why? but because affection is the motion or moving of the soul of man.

As it is the moving of the soul, so it is that motion of the soul whereby the heart is sensibly carried out upon what is good or evil; for every act or moving of the soul is not an affection. The soul moves towards a thing, when it inquires into it, or doth will the same; but every act of the understanding and will is not an affection. But when the soul of man doth sensibly move, or is sensibly carried out unto good or evil, then it is said to be affected; and therefore saith the church in the Lamentations, "Mine eye affecteth mine heart."

As the soul must be sensibly carried out unto what is good or evil, so it must embrace or refuse the same; for af-

* Vocabulum *φορειν* duos actus complectitur, actum mentis sive intellectus de re aliqua cogitantis: atque actum voluntatis, sive affectus rem aliquam approbantis et amantis.—Davenant. in Col. xxxi.

fections are of two sorts, concupiscible and irascible: by one we follow what is good, and by the other we do shun what is evil; the Lord hath placed several affections in the soul; but all are the servants and ministers of love. I love a thing, and therefore if it be absent I desire it, if it be present I rejoice and delight in it. If any thing do oppose the thing that I love, then I am angry with it, or do hate the same. So that love is the great wheel, and as that moves, all love, some in a way of embracing, some in a way of refusing. And so you now see what these affections are which we are to set upon things above; they are these motions of the soul whereby a man is sensibly carried out unto good or evil, so as to embrace or refuse the same.

But how and in what respect are we to "set our affections on things above, and not on things here below?" What, may we not at all affect the things of this life?

Yes, ye may desire the things of this life, and desire is an affection; and ye may grieve at the loss of them, and grief is an affection. But,

Though in a good sense ye may affect them, yet ye may not affect them for themselves; in deference to Christ, in subordination to God, ye may affect them: but for themselves ye may not affect them: for where do you find in all the Scripture that you are commanded to love the world, and the things of the world. "Husbands love your wives, wives your husbands, parents love your children, and children your parents." One man may, and must love another. But where are you commanded to love yourself? Implicitly, indeed this is commanded, "Thou shalt love thy neighbour as thyself." But where have ye an express commandment for to love yourself, or where do ye find in all the word that you are advised to love your money, your gold, silver, house, or land, and estate? Nowhere; surely therefore you may not affect these things for themselves.*

Though ye may affect the things that are here below; yet in comparison with spiritual and heavenly things, your affections to these things is to be as no affection, but a *tanquam* only; as the enjoyments of this world is but a *tanquam* unto heavenly enjoyments, and outward afflictions is but a *tan-*

* Non dixit nolite habere sed nolite diligere.—Augustin.

quam to afflictions of the soul. So the affection that is laid out upon these things, in comparison is to be but a *tanquam*. "Let him that rejoiceth, be as though he rejoiced not, and him that grieveth, as though he grieved not," saith the apostle; you may afford these outward things some relics of your love, and so much only as better things leave, for what is too cool for God, is hot enough for them. *Toleramus potius præsentia, quam diligamus*, says Austin. "My son (saith God), give me thine heart." "Thou shalt love the Lord thy God with all thy soul, with all thy heart, with all thy might, and with all thy strength." Surely, therefore, our affection to these outward things is in comparison to be as no affection. But our affections are to be set and placed on things that are above, not on things that are below, but on things above.

But why are we thus to set and place our affections on things that are above?

There are many great and important reasons, all which are as so many proofs of the doctrine.

If you do not set your affections on Christ, and the things of Christ, you are no fit match for him; you will not be found marriageable unto the Lord Christ. That woman is not fit to be married to a man, whose affections are not drawn out and knit to him: and if your affections be not drawn out to Christ, and the things of Christ, you are no fit match for Christ. Now we must all be espoused to Christ, and married to him; as the church, so every believer is the true spouse of Christ; but the spouse of Christ ye cannot be, unless your affections be drawn out to him.

As you cannot be married to Christ unless your affections be set on him and the things above, so you will never own him unless your affections be set on him. It is the duty of all the saints to own Christ, his ways, his truths, his ordinances: "He that is ashamed of me before men, him will I be ashamed of before my Father which is in heaven," saith Christ. Now look what that is which a man doth much affect, that he will own and not be ashamed of; but if a man doth not affect a thing, he will not own it, but will be ashamed of it; but we must own Christ here, or he will not own us hereafter. Surely, therefore, it is very fit and necessary that our affections be set on Christ and the things above.

If your affections be not set upon things above, they will never be drawn off from things here beneath; it is the gracious affection that doth mortify carnal affection. Sin is ever truly mortified by the contrary good: the joy of the world, by the joy of heaven; worldly grief, by spiritual grief: the snow is not melted but by the warm beams of the sun, and the more your hearts are warmed and drawn out with love to Christ, the more your love and affections to the world will be mortified. Now is it not necessary that our affections should be drawn off from things here below? Surely, therefore, it is fit and necessary for us to set and place our affections upon Christ and the things above.

If your affections be not set upon things above, spiritual and heavenly things, you will never press much after the knowledge and obtainment of them. Ye see how it is with a child, if he have no affections to his book, he will never make a scholar; and so if you have no affections to the things of Christ, you will never make a scholar in the school of Christ. Great is the power of affections. As it is said of conscience, *Magna est vis conscientiæ in utramque partem;* Great is the force of conscience either way, for truth or error; so I may say of affections, *Magna est vis affectionum in utramque partem;* Great is the force of affections either way, to put us on to evil or good. Look what a man hath an affection to, that he presseth after. Now is it not our duty to press after the knowledge of Christ. Surely, therefore, it is very fit and requisite that we should place our affections on things above.

If your affections be not thus set, you will never be zealous for God, for what is zeal but angered love; it is, saith one, *divinæ charitatis fervor;* the heat of divine love. Surely it is the top and extremity of affection. Now is it not our duty to be zealous for Christ? "The zeal of thine house (saith he) hath eaten me up;" and shall the zeal of our own houses eat us up? Zeal is commanded in opposition to lukewarmness: "Be zealous, therefore, and repent," saith Christ to lukewarm Laodicea: but zealous we cannot be for God and the things of God, unless our affections be set on things that are above.

If our affections be not thus set on things above, you will never do any great thing for God. We read of David that he gave three hundred and forty seven millions, three hundred

and eighty two thousand, five hundred pounds, in silver and gold of his own charges, to the building of God's house; for so the learned do compute the matter; a mighty, great and a vast sum. But if you look into 1 Chron. xxix., ye shall see how this came to pass that he gave such a gift: it is said, verse 3, "I have set mine affections to the house of God; and because I have set mine affections to the house of God, I have of mine own proper goods given," &c. And what is the reason that men give and do no more now for God, but because their affections are not set on the things of God: but if God have done great things for us, and Christ have suffered great things for us, shall not we do some great things for him; this ye cannot do unless your affections be thus set. Surely, therefore, it is our duty to set our affections on things that are above.

If your affections be not thus set, you can never please God in any thing that you do for God;* for as he requireth truth in the inward parts, so he requireth that we should serve him with fervency of spirit: "Be fervent in spirit, serving the Lord," Rom. xii. 11; as if no service could be acceptable without the fervency of affection. "Cursed is every one that hath in his flock a male (saith Malachi) and offereth a female to God. Go and offer it to thy prince," saith God. Do you think that I will accept your female affections? no, saith the Lord, if you would have acceptance with me, I must have the best and the masculine affections from you. Surely, therefore, it is very fit and necessary that our affections be set and placed on things that are above.

If your affections be not set on things that are above, how shall your heart be knit, engaged and united unto God, in opposition to all apostacy. If you look into Scripture you shall find there are three degrees of apostacy: first, the judgment watches; secondly, the affections cool; thirdly, the conversation grows worse: accordingly men are said to apostatize. Sometimes they are said to "depart from the faith," 1 Tim. iv. 1: there is the warping of the judgment. Sometimes they are said to lose their first love, Matt. xxiv. "Iniquity shall abound, and the love of many shall grow cold:" there is the cooling of their affections. Sometimes they are said to

* Affectum non vocem audit Deus.—Augustin.
Affectibus appropinquamus Deum.—Tostat. in Matt. tom iv. fol. 97.

make shipwreck of a good conscience, " to forsake the assemblies of the saints:" there is the declining in the conversation. But now if a man's affections be right set, they will keep both the judgment and the conversation. Ye see that if a thing be entangled, it is more hard to loosen it than otherwise; now what is it that doth entangle the soul and heart of man, but his affections? " No man (saith the apostle) that goeth to war entangleth himself," that is, by purchase or marriage. So that it is affection that entangles, and the more we are affected with any thing, the more we are entangled with it; and the more our hearts are entangled with any thing, the harder it is to part and to be loosened from it. Would you not, therefore, part or be loosened from Christ and the things of Christ? then surely you must set your affections on him and on things above. Thus upon all these considerations and reasons, ye see it is the duty of all the saints to set their affections on things that are above.

Now if it be our duty to set our affections on things above and not on things here below, then what an evil thing is it to set our affections on things below and not on things above. Shall the apostle, in the name of the Lord, command us to set our affections on things above and not on things below, and shall we set our affections on things below and not on things above? What is this but to walk contrary unto God? And hath not he said, that if we walk contrary to him, that he will walk contrary to us. Oh, what an evil thing is it, then, to set our affections on things below and not on things above.

But we do set our affections on things that are above, for we do truly affect the best things, and therefore we do set our affections on things above.

That is well; but are you sure that you do so?

It is a hard and difficult thing thus to set our affections on things above, for he that doth truly set his affections on things above, hath his sympathy and antipathy changed; look what that is which before he had an antipathy against, that he now hath a sympathy with; and that which he had a sympathy with, that he now hath an antipathy against. Now is it not a hard thing to change our antipathies into sympathies, and our sympathies into antipathies? Suppose a man hath an antipathy unto some meats, as cheese, or the like, is it not a

hard thing to love that most which he had an antipathy or natural hatred unto? Thus it is when the affections are taken off from things below and placed on things above. Surely, therefore, it is a very hard thing to have our affections to be thus transplanted and altered.

It is one thing to affect the best things, and to have some affections to the better things; another thing to set our affections on things that are above. It is said of Herod that he heard John the Baptist gladly; there he had some affections to the better things, yet his affections were not set on things above. The stony ground, in the parable, receives the word with joy; there is some affections to the better things, yet this is not the setting of the affections on things above, plainly. Yet it is one thing to affect the best things, and another thing to set our affections on things that are above. Yet,

Many there are who are deceived herein; for as some have gifts, parts and knowledge, and thereby think they are in the state of grace when there is no such matter; so some, having affections to the best things, think that they are godly when there is no such matter.

But, by way of convincement, if men did truly set their affections on things that are above, then they would not be so indifferent in the things of God as they are; they would not so easily be put by in their endeavours after them. This setting our affections on things above, is ordinarily described in Scripture by our hungering and thirsting after them: "As the hart panteth after the water-brooks, so doth my soul thirst after thee, O God," saith the psalmist. "Blessed are they that hunger and thirst after righteousness." Now when a man is hungry or thirsty he is not easily put by, but there is an inward necessity unto the thing desired; I must have drink or I die, I must have meat or I die; there is a necessity, and it cannot be answered without the thing. But now, though men say they do affect the best things, yet they are easily put by in their endeavours after them. Why? But because their affections are not set on things that are above.

If men's affections were thus set on things above, then they always carry these things about with them in their minds and thoughts. Look what a man hath set his affections upon, that he carries up and down with him; wherever he goes,

still he is thinking of it, and he cannot rid his heart of it, for his affections are set thereupon. But now men do not carry spiritual things about with them, they are not always thinking and minding of them wherever they come. Why? But because their affections are not truly set on them.

If your affections were thus set upon heavenly and spiritual things, then they would seek them in the first place; in the first of their age and time, in the first of their day and morning, in the first of their competition. If a man have a mind to a journey, and his heart and affections be set upon it, he will be early up in the morning to go that journey; or if he have any business to do, that he hath set his heart upon, he will do it before any other: and so, if our affections be set on heavenly things, then we will mind them in the first place: but now men do not seek the kingdom of God and his righteousness in the first place, but in the last place. Why? Because their affections are not truly set on things that are above.

If men's affections were thus truly set on things above, then they would be speaking of them, and love to hear others speaking of them. "I will speak of things concerning the King," saith David in the xlvth Psalm, "for my heart is inditing (boiling, bubbling up) a good matter." And ye see this by experience, that a man or woman loves to speak of what they affect. If a man's heart be set on the world, and the things thereof, he loves to be speaking of them; if a woman's affections be set on fine clothes and fashions, she loves to be speaking of them, and to hear others speaking of them; for if one's affections be truly set on things above, he loves to be speaking of them: but now, though men say they affect the best things, yet they are not usually speaking of them. Why? But because their affections are not in truth set on them.

Look what a man is deeply affected with, that he is most indulgent to and tender of, he could not have a cold wind for to breathe upon it. Affections blind the judgment. *Perit judicium cum res transit in affectum.* Great affections take away the very judgment; infirmitics are no infirmities to affection, love will kiss the warts off the thing affected; oh, it is exceeding tender of the thing affected. But now men are not so tender of the name of God and spiritual things. Why? But because their affections are not set in truth upon things above.

If a man's affections were thus set on things that are above, then he would not be put off with any slight evidence of his interest in them. Look what a man doth much affect, that he will have a clear evidence of his interest therein, and will never be satisfied, until he have a substantial and a clear evidence of it. But now, though men say that they do affect the best things, yet they will be satisfied with slight evidences of their interest in them. Why? Because their affections are not truly set on things that are above. Indeed men think they are, because they have some affections to the better things. But if all these things be true, as they are most certain, then surely many are deceived in the great matter of the right placing of their affections.*

But suppose our affections be set on things above, or suppose they be not; what then?

Then is your portion accordingly. Look where your treasure is, there is your portion: if your treasure be in heaven, then is your portion there; if your treasure be in the earth, then is your portion there. And look where your heart and affections are, there is your treasure. And therefore if your affections be set on things above, then is your portion there; if on things below, then is your portion there. Yea,

If your affections be set on things that are above, then may you know that you have an interest in Christ, and in those things above. Affections are the pulse of the soul; if a man be alive, then his pulse beats, but if his pulse beats not, then is he dead. For if your affections beat after things that are above, then are you alive to God; but if this pulse beats not, then are you dead to God. Every man is as this pulse is, alive or dead: every man is as his affections are, *animus cujusque est quisque;* would ye so know whether ye be spiritually alive or dead. How doth this pulse of your affections beat? I confess indeed, that *affectio est meretrix*, a man should not measure himself by any present affection, nor by the degrees of his affections; but by the bent of his affections he should, and by the savour of them. Though I cannot know strong water by the colour of it, yet by the

* Hinc colligere possumus, illus omnes qui pollicentur sibi gaudia superna, cum interim non omnino sapiunt superna, quasi jucundo quodam somnio delectari, neque unquam illis rebus saturandos, qui nunquam sitire et esurire, ex animo solebant.—Davenant. in Col. iii. 1, 2.

taste and savour of it I may; and though I cannot know my spiritual estate by the degree of an affection, yet by the savour and bent of it I may. Therefore saith the psalmist, "Those that love the Lord hate evil." "By this (saith the apostle) shall ye know that ye are translated from death to life, because ye love the brethren." And if ye look into Scripture, how doth the Lord distinguish the godly from the ungodly, but by the kind and bent of their affections? "Let them that love thy name rejoice in thee," Psalm v. 11. "His delight is in the law of the Lord," Psalm i. "Blessed is the man that feareth the Lord, and delighteth greatly in his commandments," Psalm cxii. 1. If therefore your affections be not drawn out and set upon things above, how will ye know that ye have any interest in them? Yea,

And if your affections be not set on things above, what shall relieve you in the day of your distress? Look what you most affect while you are well, that must be your relief when you are sick. Can you relieve yourselves with the things here below, when you are sick or count to die? But if you now set your affections on things above, then they will relieve you in the day of your distress.*

Then also you shall neither lose your affection nor the thing affected. If you set your affections on things that are below, you shall both lose the thing affected, and your affections too. Witness the case of Jonah's gourd. Now our affections are precious things, too good to be spilt and lost: lost they will be, and spilt they will be, if set on any thing on this side Christ; but if they be set on things above, you shall neither lose them nor the thing affected.†

And for the present these affections will make the ways of God easy to you. Hard things are easy to great affections, easy things are hard to him that hath no affection to them. You see how it is with the hunter, that runs up and down all day long, over hedges, through bushes, sweating and tearing himself yet with much ease and sweetness, because he affects the game; but if a man be put upon a work which he hath no affection to, then it is hard to him, though never so easy in itself. So spiritually, though the work of mortification

* Terrena nec plenitudinem ferre possunt continenti, nec fulcimentum invitenti, nec fructum laboranti—Parisiens.

† Υλη των αρετων.

and repentance be an hard work, yet it is easy to some, prayer easy, reading easy, meditating easy; why? because they have affection to these things: but if your affections be not set on things that are above, how shall the ways of God be made easy and sweet unto you? But besides all these things, ye know that

God is a jealous God; and though Christ be a loving Husband unto every soul that is espoused to him, yet he is very jealous of men's affections. What man is not jealous of his wife, when he sees that her affections are placed upon another? And are our affections placed upon things below; what doth that do but raise the jealousy of Christ against us? Jealousy is the rage of man, what is it then in Christ? Now therefore as you desire that the jealousy of the Lord Jesus may not be raised against you; that the ways of God may be made sweet and easy to you; that you may never lose your affections, or the things affected; that you may have a standing relief in the day of your distress; that you may have full evidence of the interest in those things that are above, and that your portion may lie there; oh, "set your affections on things that are above, and not on things on the earth."

What shall we do that we may raise and draw up our affections unto these things above? for our affections are indeed too much on things here below. How shall we draw them off from them, and draw them up to these better things that are above?

You must be sure to get a new heart, affections are the movings of the heart; an old heart cannot move unto things that are above: therefore you must get a new heart.*

Then you must get knowledge of these things that are above, for *ignoti nullam cupido*, there is no desire of unknown things, nor affections to them. Some desire knowledge and not affections; some desire affections, and do not labour after knowledge. Give me knowledge hearted with affections, and affections headed with knowledge; for as knowledge without affections makes wicked men secure, so affections without knowledge make godly men scrupulous. Study therefore to

* Affectiones bonas vel malas causat voluntas bona vel mala.—Augustin, tom. 5, fol. 169,

know more, and that knowledge shall be a light and lanthorn to the feet of your affections.

If you would draw up your affections unto things above, then put yourself under the most wooing discoveries of gospel love. Wooings roll out affections. Christ woos in the gospel; there doth the Spirit also breathe: and these motions of the soul can never be stirred up, but by the moving of the Spirit on the heart. "The living creatures went every one straight forward, whither the Spirit was to go," Ezek. i. 12. Now the Spirit moves in the wooing dispensations of the gospel; there then place yourselves, and give up your hearts unto these wooings.

And in case that any sensible dispensation fall upon you, either by affliction or enjoyment, let your eye affect your heart. Affections are sensible movings of the soul: doth the Lord therefore speak unto your soul by afflictions or sacraments? be sure that you improve these sensible dispensations to the working up of your affections unto things above.

And be much in meditation; for as reading and hearing do beget knowledge, so meditation doth beget affections. Either therefore you are in company, or you are alone: if you be in company, mutual exhortation will quicken your affections unto what is good; if ye be alone, then sit and meditate on the things that you have heard, or read, or seen, or done; and thus your affections will and shall be raised unto things above.

But my affections are most unsteady; though they be raised to-day, yet they are down to-morrow: what shall I do that I may so set my affections on things above, that they may be settled on them?

In case your affections have been raised, then take as much pains to keep your affections up, as you did to raise them up. And,

In case you feel your affections begin to cool and decline, then stir up yourself, and the grace of God that is in you. The prophet Isaiah complains, that none stirred up themselves to take hold on God. The like complaint may we take up now; for what is the reason that our affections die and cool away after raisings of heart, but because we do not stir up ourselves and hearts to take hold on God. In case, there-

fore, that your affections do begin to abate and cool, blow them up afresh, and stir up yourselves thereunto.

Be sure that you make use of the variety in the ways of God, which he hath given you. *Varietas refocillat:* variety is refreshing and affecting. God hath given us divers ordinances to be exercised in, that if we be dull and weary in one, we may go to another. If you be weary in prayer, you may go to reading; if weary in reading, then go to meditating; if weary in meditation, you may go to conference. If you will spend yourself only in one duty, there will grow a dulness and deadness upon you; but if you exercise yourself according to that variety which God hath given you, your heart will be kept up with an holy freshness unto things above, But,

Because that we are much affected with new things, therefore study the words and works of God much, and be always digging in them, then some new truth, or new discovery will arise upon you, which will affect your heart, and ever heap up your affections unto things above. And,

In case that you have any great affections unto what is good, be sure that you labour more and more to refine that affection; things refined keep longest; distilled waters keep longer than the leaves out of which the waters are distilled; if ye have rose leaves, they will not keep fresh so long as the water that you distil from them; those affections that you now have, it may be are sweet unto you, but they are as the rose leaves, somewhat of a drossier matter, which doth adhere to them, if you would now take those very good affections and refine or distil the same, then would they keep the longer. Go then and carry in your rose leaves unto God's still, and labour more and more to refine your best affections. Thus your affections shall not only be set on things above, but be settled on them.

And my beloved, is it not a good and blessed thing to have sweet and large affections for good? Surely it is a great mercy to have large affections in good and for good; some of us have had large affections to the things of the world, and shall we not have as large affections unto things that are above? Old men generally want affections, and young people do abound therein; but what will all our affections do us good, if they be set on things here below? Alas, we shall

but lose them, and the things affected too. But if you set your affections on things above, you shall neither lose your affections, nor the things affected. Wherefore let us all receive this exhortation, "Set your affections on things above, and not on things on the earth."

SERMON III.

HOW TO WALK WITH GOD IN OUR CALLINGS.

"*Brethren, let every man wherein he is called therein, abide with God.*"—1 COR. VII. 20.

IN this chapter the apostle speaks to a case of conscience, whether it be lawful for the believing wife to depart from the unbelieving husband; which he resolves negatively, ver. 10. "If the unbelieving will depart, let him depart," saith the apostle, ver. 15, but the believer may not depart; which he persuadeth unto by divers arguments. The first is taken from the profit or good that the believer may do by his continuance, ver. 16, "For what knowest thou, O wife, whether thou shalt save thine husband." The second is taken from the call of God unto that condition, ver. 17, "But as the Lord hath distributed unto every man, as the Lord hath called every man, so let him walk:" and this is our duty; for, says he, "So I ordain in all the churches." Why, but suppose a man be called being a servant, is he to abide therein? Yes, says the apostle, ver. 20, "Let every one abide in the same calling wherein he was called." Art thou called being a servant? care not for it, but if thou mayest be made free, use it rather; for, ver. 22, "He that is called in the Lord, being a servant, is the Lord's freeman;" only saith he, "Ye are bought with a price, be not ye the servants of men," serving men only, but the Lord in them. And so, brethren, let every man wherein he is called, abide with God by calling: so the apostle doth understand that state and condition wherein God hath placed us. We do ordinarily take the word *calling* for our civil employment, and outward occupation; but the apostle takes it here for our outward state and condition, yet not excluding but including the other, for there is no state or

condition that we are called unto, but some occupation, employment, or calling, is to be used therein; and therefore in speaking to one of these, I shall speak to both. And so the doctrine is this:

That it is the duty of every man to abide or walk with God in his calling; take calling for your state or condition, or take calling for your ordinary way of employment, the doctrine is true, that it is our duty to abide or walk with God in our calling. It is commanded ver. 17, "As the Lord hath called every one, so let him walk." It is commanded again ver. 20, "Let every man abide in the same calling wherein he was called." And it is commanded again ver. 24, "Brethren, let every one," &c. Surely therefore there is some great concernment in this. And ver. 20 he saith, "Let every man abide;" but in ver. 17 he saith, "As the Lord hath called every one, so let him walk;" and saith the text, "Here let him abide with God." Plainly then, it is the duty of every man to walk or abide with God in his calling. For the prosecuting of which truth I shall labour to shew you:

First, That it is a great mercy for a man to be placed in a good, lawful, and honest calling. A good calling is a great mercy.

Secondly, That a man being so placed, is to abide therein.

Thirdly, That it is our duty to walk with God in our calling.

Fourthly, What a man should do, that he may walk with God in his calling.

Fifthly, I shall give you some motives and encouragements to provoke you to this work, of walking with God in your callings.

First, therefore, I say, a good calling is a great mercy. It is a great mercy for a man to have an honest, good, and a lawful calling: whether you take the word *calling* for the calling of condition, or for the calling of employment, it is a great mercy to be planted in an honest and a lawful calling. For,

This was the condition of Adam in the state of innocency; then the Lord set Adam for to till the ground: he gave him an employment in the state of innocency, and there was nothing given him in the state of innocency but mercy. What-

ever God called him to, or put him upon before the fall, was mercy. Now in that state God put an employment upon him. Employment did not come in by the fall; it is not a badge of that conquest that the devil made upon us by the fall: therefore an honest calling is a great mercy. For thereby,

A man is kept from idleness. Idleness is the nurse of all wickedness; our vacation is the devil's term. *Homines nihil agendo, &c.*: * Men by doing nothing learn to do evil. Idleness, saith the heathen,† is the burying of a living man. *Hic situs est.* When a great senator of Rome would go live privately in his country house, that he might be more retired, Seneca coming by, said, *Hic situs est;* Here lies such a man: as you say over a tomb, Here lies such a man, and there lies such a man, so said he, *Hic situs est Vacia;* Here lies Vacia; for idleness is the burial of a living man, but what more contrary to a man than to be buried alive. Now the honest lawful employment or calling will keep ever from idleness. Yea,

Thereby also a man shall be kept from busy-bodiedness and too much meddling: the more idle a man is, the more apt he is to be too busy and meddling with others' matters. Mark, therefore, I pray, how they go together in 2 Thess. iii. 11: "We hear that there are some which walk among you disorderly, working not at all, being busy-bodies." Working not at all, and yet overworking, being busy-bodies; how should this be cured? Why, saith he, in the next verse, "Now them that are such, we command and exhort by our Lord Jesus Christ, that with quietness they work and eat their own bread." Either a man must eat his own bread or he will eat another's; if he eat another's constantly that will be uncomfortable; if he would eat his own bread, then let him work; if he do not work when he should, he will be at work when he should not; he will meddle with others' matters, and be a busy-body. "Now, therefore, I command and beseech you in the Lord (saith the apostle), that every one work." Thus shall a man be freed from busy-bodiedness. Yea,

A lawful honest calling both of condition and employment is God's ground. As no calling is the devil's ground, so a good and honest calling is God's ground. As an unlawful

* Homines nihil egendo mala discunt egere.—Sen.

† Otium est vera hominis sepultura.—Sen.

calling is the devil's ground, so a lawful calling is God's ground. And look when a man is out of his calling and place, he may then say, What do I here on the devil's ground? and look when a man is in his place and calling, then he may say, What dost thou here, Satan, tempting me? this is none of thy ground, this is God's ground to me. And so it is, indeed, for there God will appear to men. God did appear to the shepherds, bringing the news of Christ's birth; but where did he appear to them, but in their calling? They were keeping sheep, and suddenly they heard a noise of heavenly angels. He did appear to Peter and Andrew in their callings to follow Christ; but where did he appear to them, but in the way of their callings? They were casting their nets into the sea, and Christ came and said to them, "Follow me, and I will make you fishers of men." Calling ground is appearance ground; there God appears unto his people. Surely, therefore, it is a great mercy to be on this ground, to have an honest lawful calling and employment. And that is the first thing,

Secondly, A man having a honest and a good calling, he is to abide therein. "Let every one abide therein," saith the apostle here, again and again. Now for the opening of this I shall briefly speak unto these four things:

1. That there is an aptness in us to change or lay down our callings.

2. That it is not absolutely unlawful so to do.

3. Yet ordinarily a man is to abide in his calling, and not readily to be removed from it.

4. I shall answer to some objections or cases of conscience about the change or relinquishment of our calling.

1. Therefore there is an aptness in us to change or lay down our callings, &c. Why should the apostle three times, one after another, call upon us to "abide in our callings?" And if ye look into 2 Thess. iii., ye shall find that as soon as the apostle had commanded the Thessalonians to work, and eat their own bread by working, verse 10, he presently adds, "But ye, brethren, be not weary of well doing." Why so? But because there is an aptness in us, and an itching disposition to leave and desert our callings.

2. But it is not absolutely unlawful for a man to leave or to change his calling. This in some cases thou mayest do, says

Peter Martyr, *modo teipsam non quæras, vel timere agas*, so that you do not seek yourself, nor be rash therein. For possibly a man may be qualified for higher employments than his own calling bears. In this case, David left his calling of a shepherd and became a king; Amos left the calling of a herdman and became a prophet; the apostles left the calling of their fishing and became apostles. Possibly a man may be qualified for better and higher employments, and in that case it is lawful to change or leave his calling.* Or,

Possibly a man may see the same hand of God leading him out of his calling which did bring him into it. So when Noah had the same command to go out of the ark that he had to go in, then he went out, but not before, though the waters were gone off the earth. Now sometimes a man may hear the same voice of God leading him out of his calling, which did bring him in, and in that case it is lawful for a man to leave or lay down his calling. Or,

Possibly the porter that standeth at the door of a man's calling may let him out; there are porters which God hath set at the door of every condition: if a man be a single man, and would change his condition, and his parents are unwilling, then he may not go out of that calling or condition, for the parents, which are the porters of the door, do not open to him. There are porters at the door of every condition; possibly this porter may open the door, and then it is lawful for a man to change or lay down his calling. Or,

Possibly a man may be forced through want, to change or desert his calling. Paul though a preacher and apostle, was sometimes forced to work with his hands. And though Musculus was a good and excellent preacher, yet he was sometimes forced to work, and to dig in the city ditch or moat, for his living.† Possibly I say, a man through urgent necessity and want, may be forced to leave or desert his calling; and then, and in that case, it is lawful for him to do it: so that it is not absolutely unlawful for a man to change or lay down his calling. Yet,

3. Though it be lawful in some case to do so, yet

* Si ad magistratum vel ecclesiæ regimen adcersitus fueris justa ratione, tum tuipse non est qui te transferas ex una vocatione in aliam sed a Deo promoveris. Sic ab aratro ad consilium voleris roudis.—Pet. Mart. in cap. p. 96.

† Idem statuendum est, cum aliqua gravi necessitate compelleris, et subeas non as conditiones.—Pet. Mar. ibid.

ordinarily a man is to abide in his calling, and not readily to be removed from it: for a good calling is the Lord's gift.

It is God that calls a man to that state, condition, or employment. Now a man should not readily leave or desert that calling or employment which God hath called him to, or owned and blessed him in. For how do I know whether God will own or bless me when I shall desert that calling, wherein he hath appeared unto me. It is my duty to follow God, and not to go before him; as God hath distributed to every man. As the Lord hath called every man, so let him walk. God doth distribute and carve out our callings for us. Has the Lord therefore called me to a place or employment, then am I with thankfulness to walk therein. It is not for the private soldier, saith Peter Martyr, to appoint his own station; but look where he is set by his commander, there he is to abide. Has the Lord therefore set me in this or that calling or employment, then am I to wait on God, and abide in it, and not readily to be removed from it.

There is no calling either of employment or condition, but God may be served and enjoyed therein. No calling or employment so mean, but a man may honourably serve, and comfortablo enjoy God therein. Art thou called being a servant, care not, saith the apostle,; why? For he that is called being a servant, is the Lord's free man, verse 22. Likewise also, he that is called being free, is the Lord's servant. I remember I heard a preacher say some twenty-five years since, that a man is never ashamed of his calling, though it be never so mean, but a man is ashamed of his sin, although he be never so great. If, says he, you call a man tinker or cobler, yet he is not ashamed thereof, because it is his calling; but if you call a man drunkard, or adulterer, he is ashamed thereof, because that is none of his calling. A man may honourably serve God in his calling, though it be never so mean, and he may comfortably enjoy God in his calling although it be never so great.

4. But that is the reason why I would lay down my calling, because I cannot serve God so well therein. I meet with many temptations, provocations, and impediments, which hinder me in the service of God; if I were free from this calling, then I should be more free for God, and should be

more free from those snares and provocations that I now meet with. But for answer:

Are you sure of that? Luther tells us of a certain man that was given to anger, and to avoid provocation, he would go live alone, as an hermit; and going to the well with his pitcher, somewhat displeased him, and he threw down his pitcher, and he broke it in anger; which when he had done, and reflecting on himself, and his own actions, he said, Well, now I see it is not in my condition, but in my heart and self, that doth cause anger and provocation; therefore I will return to my calling again. And when men speak at the rate of that objection, what do they do, but lay the fault of their anger and provocation upon their condition, and excuse themselves? But our Saviour saith, That that comes from within, that defiles a man, not that which comes from without. It is not the condition, or the place, or the employment, or calling, that defiles the man, but that that comes from within, that defiles the man. Mr. Greenham* being asked whether a man might avoid the doing of a thing whereunto he is called, because he feels corruption in himself, he said, In avoiding society, you shall cover, but not cure your infirmities; and though you depart from men, you cannot go out of yourself; it is not the use of the creatures, but the love of the creatures, that hinder from good. I never look, said he, for a better estate than that wherein I am; but I oft prepare for a worse. And I pray tell me, beloved, was not Joshua, when Moses died, and he was to lead the people into Canaan, a man of great employment? "Yes even then," saith the Lord to him, "this book of the law, shall not depart out of thy mouth, but thou shalt meditate therein day and night," Josh. i. 8. And was not David a man of great employments? Yet, says he, "At evening, morning, and at noonday will I pray, yea seven times a day; yea, I meditate on thy law all the day long." Surely therefore our hinderance to good, doth not lie in our calling, place, or employment; but it lies within ourselves. And therefore why should we lay down our callings to be rid thereof.

5. But this is not my reason, I know that a man may serve God in the worst of honest callings, but callings are made for maintenance. Now I have enough to maintain

* Greenham on Calling.

myself and mine; and therefore why may not I now lay down my calling?

Because you are mistaken. A calling is not only to maintain yourself and your family, but it is an ordinance of God to preserve and keep you from idleness: whereby you are not only to maintain yourself, but to help others, and therefore ye find that Paul saith, "he wrought with his hands;" not only to maintain himself but others. "You know (says he) yea, yourselves know, that these hands have ministered unto my necessities, and to them that were with me," Acts xx. 34. He did not only work occasionally to maintain himself, but others also. And if ye look into Eph. iv., the same church that he spake to in Acts xx., ye shall find that he layeth his injunction on them and us: "Let him that stole steal no more, but rather let him labour, working with his hands the thing that is good, that he may have to give to him that needeth," verse 28. Surely therefore a calling is not only appointed to raise a maintenance for ourselves: and therefore, though you can live, and have outward means enough to maintain both you and others, yet you may not therefore leave or desert your calling; it is that trust that God hath committed to you, and you must make good your trust.

But though I may not leave my calling altogether, yet may I not leave it for a time, that on the week-day I may go and hear and enjoy the ordinances?

Yes, surely, for man is not made for the calling, but the calling is made for man. Ye read of a converted woman in John iv., that when she had a taste of Christ's preaching, she left her pitcher or pail, and went and called others to hear the same. And so, though you do not break your pail or pitcher, yet you may leave your pail or pitcher for a time, to tend on the words of Christ. Did not the Jews go up three times a year to Jerusalem from their several habitations, employments, and callings? Is it not said, "That the converted Jews did continue daily with one accord in the temple, and breaking bread from house to house?" Acts ii. 46. Indeed God will have mercy and not sacrifice; but though ye may not leave or lay down your callings readily, yet for a time you may leave them, that you may attend on the ordinances. But though you may so leave your callings for a

time, yet you must abide therein with God. And so I come to the third general, which is this:

Thirdly, That it is our duty, or the duty of every man to walk with God in his calling, not barely to abide therein, but to abide and walk with God therein. For thus,

It was so from the beginning. Adam had a calling, even in the state of innocency, but therein he was to walk with God.

And if a man do not walk with God in his calling, how can he walk with God at all. A man is not said to walk with God because he prays in the morning or evening; walking is a constant thing. Now it is the duty of every man to walk with God; and therefore it is his duty to walk with God in his calling.

Thereby a man is distinguished from the world and the men of the world. A man is not therefore one of another world, because he deserts his calling that he may give himself unto his devotions: for then the monks, and nuns, and anabaptists, should be men and women of another world; he is a man of another world, "that doth use the world as if he used it not." Christ himself was in the world, "but not of the world." And if you would not be of the world, you must not go out of the world, but you must walk with God in the world. Hereby you shall be distinguished from the world, and men of the world. Now it is our duty so to walk, as it may appear that we are not of this world. Therefore it is our duty to walk with God in our callings, not only to abide therein, but to walk with God therein.*

This is that which will sweeten and elevate your callings: every thing is raised or depressed as God is present with it or absent from it. Bethlehem was but a little city, therefore says the prophet Micah, chap. v. 2, "Thou Bethlehem, though thou be little amongst the thousands of Judah;" yet, Matt. ii., it is said, "And thou Bethlehem art not the least." Why? Because Christ was born there. Look what place, or town,

* At hodie summa habeter pictas, si quis domi relectis liberis et uxore aut etiam grandævis parentibus, vel Hierosolymam adeat, vel in monasterium; vide quo impudentiæ ventum est in ecclesiam Christi, nec in pari proxsus dementia decipiunt hodie et catebaptistæ, relictis enim uxoribus liberis et familiis (tanquem attoniti et fanatici homines circumsitant, atque ita se pomariam regni Christi propagularos dejerunt; tum interim rem familiarem concoquent subvertantque, totam et ecclesiam Christi miris modis obturbent.—Bullinger in 1 Tim. v. 8.

or condition that is where Christ is, though it be little in itself, yet it is raised by him. The more, therefore, that you walk with God in your calling, the more your calling is sweetened and elevated. And yet further,

Every man is as he is in his calling; a man hath no more grace than he may or can use in his calling; and though I have all parts and gifts, so as I can remove mountains, yet if I be not gracious in my calling, all is nothing, my parts and gifts are but as sounding brass and as tinkling cymbal. My calling is that ground whereon I am to plant all my gifts and graces. If I have grace, it will appear in my calling; if I be wicked, it will appear in my calling: every man is as he is in his calling. Surely, therefore, it is not only our duty to abide, but to abide and walk with God in our callings. And that is the third general.

Now, by way of application, I might speak something in reference to every branch of the doctrine. If a good calling be a great mercy, then why should not parents provide honest callings for their child, and children be thankful to God and their parents for such provision? And if it be our duty to abide with God in our callings, then why should not every man be contented with his condition, whatever it be, though it be never so mean? And if it be our duty to walk with God in our callings, then why should we not make it our business, not to be rich by our callings, but to walk with God in our callings. But you will say,

Fourthly, What should a man do that he may walk with God in his calling? This is of daily concernment. How should we, therefore, so walk in our callings, that we may walk with God in our callings?

I answer negatively and affirmatively.

Negatively. If you would walk with God in your calling, you must not be ignorant of the way of your calling; for if you take up a calling, and are ignorant of the way and mystery thereof, you may tempt God therein. "The wisdom of the wise (saith Solomon) is to direct his way," his own particular way. Every man should be the master of his art.* Possibly a man may step into a calling both of condition and employment before he knows the way and the manner of it.

* Q. Quænam requiruntur ad honestam vocationem honeste exercendum?
R. 1. Requiritur peritia. 2. Attentio ad officia propria. 3. Sedula dili-

But as in marriage, though the parties meet in the flesh without any sanctified means, yet if God afterwards give them grace to live holily together, he sheweth that not only their corrupt meeting is pardoned, but that now they are blessed. So, though a man enter into a calling without gifts at the first, yet if God afterwards furnish him with able gifts, he doth not only shew his former sin, in running into that calling, is pardoned, but that he is blessed. But if a man be not the master of his art, and gifted for his calling, then he leaves God therein, and doth not walk with God.

If you would walk with God in your calling, you must not be negligent in your place and calling. Diligence in our callings is commanded, commended and rewarded in Scripture. It is commanded: "Whatever is in the power of thy hand I do, do it with all thy might;" "Be not slothful in business, go to the pismire, O sluggard." It is commended: "He that is diligent in his business shall stand before princes." And it is rewarded: "For the diligent hand maketh rich." Now if God doth command, commend, and reward diligence in our calling, then surely you cannot walk with God and be negligent therein.

If you would walk with God in your calling, you must not deal unjustly or unrighteously in your dealings with men. "God hath shewed thee, O man, what is good," saith the prophet, Micah vi. 8. "And what doth the Lord require of thee, but to do justly, and to love mercy, and to walk humbly with thy God? Plainly, then, a man cannot walk humbly with God that doth not deal justly and righteously with men in his calling.

If you would walk with God in your calling, then you must not be too familiar with your calling. God hath given you a calling that it may be a nurse to you, and your grace. Children sometimes are so fond of their nurse that they regard not their parents; and if you be too fond of your calling, you will forget the God of your calling. "Let him that marrieth be as if he married not (says the apostle), and he that useth the world as if he used it not." You will go with an apron into your shop that you may keep your clothes clean,

gentia. 4. Providentia in opportunitate commoda observanda. 5. Fortitudo et constantia in difficultatibus superandis. 6. Moderatio appetitionis lucri. 7. Religiosa sanctificatio omnium laborem.—Ames Cas. consc. lib. v. cap. 46.

and hath not your soul as much need of an apron when you are in your shop and your calling. If the ivy clings too close unto the oak, it hindereth the growth of the oak; so if your callings cling too close to you, and you to your callings, it will hinder your spiritual growth. The world may be well used at a distance: it is not evil to meddle with the world, but to mingle with it. Would ye, therefore, walk with God in your place, then you must not be too familiar with the world and the things thereof. Thus negatively. Now

Affirmatively. If you would walk with God in your place and calling, then you must observe what those snares and temptations are that are incident unto your calling, and take heed thereof; such there are, for says the apostle, chap. vii. 23, "He that is unmarried, careth for the things that belong to the Lord, how he may please the Lord; but he that is married careth for the things of the world, how he may please his wife." And this saith he, verse 35, "I speak for your own profit, not that I may cast a snare upon you, but for that which is comely, and that you may attend upon the Lord without destraction." Plainly, then, there are snares and temptations that are incident unto all, and the best conditions and callings; and if we would attend unto God without distractions, we must observe what these snares and temptations are, and take heed thereof.

If you would walk with God in your calling, then you must live by faith in your callings. "For by faith Enoch walked with God." "And the life that I live in the flesh, I live by the faith of the Son of God." Thereby you shall be kept from covetousness and love of the world. "This is our victory, whereby we overcome the world, even our faith." Thereby you shall be contented with your condition, whatever it be; thereby you shall be able to leap over a wall, and over all those difficulties that you meet with in your callings; thereby you shall live sweetly and graciously in your calling, and walk with God. Now if you would live by faith in your calling, then you must have an eye to God's commandment, promise, and providence. You must go to your callings as to God's ordinance; otherwise you cannot look with both eyes to God, but with one eye to the world, and with the other to God. But you see that he hath taught us, that you cannot look with one eye to heaven, and with the other eye

to the earth; but if you will look to the heavens, both eyes will look to heaven. So if you will look to God, you must look with both eyes to God. The way, therefore, to look with both eyes to God in your calling, is to go to your calling as to God's ordinance; and because faith and the promise are as buckle and clasp, the one cannot be without the other. Therefore you must observe those promises that are made to your calling, and rest thereon. And because God doth sometimes guide us by his eye in the way of our callings, therefore you must have an eye to providence; and whatever you do in the way of your calling, you must quietly leave the issue of it and success to God. And thus shall you live by faith in your calling, and so walk with God in your place.

If you would walk with God in your calling, then whatever you do therein, do all to the glory of God. "Whether you eat or drink, (saith the apostle,) do all to the glory of God." If I work in my calling for mine own profit only, then I walk with myself therein; but if I do all for God's glory, not mine own profit, then I walk with God in my calling.

If you would walk with God in your particular calling, then be sure that you so manage your calling, that your general calling may not be an hindrance, but an help unto your particular; and thus your particular calling may be no hindrance, but an help to your general calling. Woe to that calling which eats up prayer. The particular and general callings are joined together by God: "Those that God hath joined together, let no man put asunder." Be sure, therefore, that your general calling be an help to your particular, and your particular no hindrance to your general. Thus shall you walk with God in your calling. And,

If you would walk with God in your calling, then be sure that you turn as God turns, sweetly complying with his dispensations in the way of your calling. If two men walk together, when one turns the other turns, and if one do not turn as the other turns, they cannot walk together; but if one turns as the other turns, then they walk together. So in our walking with God, it may be God's dispensations in my calling are comfortable, then am I to rejoice and to praise the Lord. It may be God turns and his dispensation is sad, in the way of my calling; then am I to humble myself before

the Lord, and to comply with his dispensation; which if you do in your calling, then shall you walk with God therein. Yet,

If you would walk with God in your calling, then you must judge of things in your calling, as God judges, and measure things by his bushel. We are very apt to measure and judge of things in our callings, by the verdict of the means and second causes: if the means and second cause smile, then we smile, though God frown; if the means and second cause frown, then we frown, though God smile: if the second cause be big, and promise a great mercy or blessing to us, then in the strength of the second cause, we promise it to ourselves, though God threatens the contrary; if the second cause or means threaten a misery, then in the strength thereof, we threaten ourselves with that misery, though God promise the contrary blessing. This is not to walk with God in our callings. He that walks with God in his place and calling, must judge and measure things according unto God's verdict. But,

If you would walk with God in your place and calling, then you must spiritualize your particular calling with heavenly things, and the things of God; not put all upon a morning and an evening prayer, but your particular calling must be sprinkled with holy meditations and gracious speeches. Thus it was with Abraham's servant when he went for Rebecca, he sprinkled his service with meditation, prayer, and godly speech. And if ye look into Judges v. ye shall find that upon a glorious victory that God gave to his people, it is said, ver. 11, "They that are delivered from the noise of the archers, in the places of drawing of water, there shall they rehearse the righteous acts of the Lord." Not only at their church meetings, and in prayer or duty, but while they are drawing of water. Thus our particular calling is to be sprinkled with heavenly things; and if you do thus, then shall you walk with God in your calling. And oh, that there were an heart in us all, thus to walk with God in our callings. This is every man's work, and every day's work. Now, therefore, that you may do it, give me leave by way of motive, to leave these few considerations with you.

If you walk with God in your particular calling, God will walk with you in your general calling. Is it not a great

mercy to meet with God in your prayers and duties; if you go up to him in your particular callings, he will come down to you in your general.

Then shall your calling be a blessing to you indeed, and you shall have another, further and greater reward than the wealth of your calling. "Servants obey your masters in all things, not with eye-service as men pleasers, but in singleness of heart, fearing the Lord," Col. iii. 22. "And whatever ye do, do it heartily, as to the Lord, and not unto men," ver. 23. "Knowing that of the Lord ye shall receive the reward of the inheritance; for ye serve the Lord Christ." It seems then, by this scripture, that though a man be a servant, yet therein he may serve the Lord, and walk with God; and if he do so, he shall not only have wages from his master, but of the Lord he shall receive the reward of the inheritance. Now he is best paid, which the Lord pays; the Lord will not only give him his outward wages, but an everlasting inheritance. Oh, what a good thing it is to walk with God in our callings. Yea,

Thereby the knots and difficulties of your callings shall be taken off, and your way made easy; that God whom ye walk with in your callings, will lift you over all the stiles that are in your callings. If a child walk with his father in the fields, when they come at a high stile, the father lifts him over it. So if you walk with God in your callings, then he will lift you over all the stiles and difficulties of your callings. Yea,

Thereby you shall be kept from the sins and temptations of your calling. A man's calling is like to a great log or piece of timber in a green field; look upon the field, and you see it all green and handsome, but take up the log or timber that lies in the midst thereof, and there you find worms, and sows, and vermin that do breed under it. So look upon a man's carriage, and generally it is very green, civil and handsome; but if ye look under his calling, you will find nothing but sows, worms, and vermin. Now this walking with God in your calling, will keep you from the vermin of your callings. Yea,

Thereby shall your way of godliness be convincing and winning. "As God hath distributed to every man, as the Lord hath called every one, so let him walk and abide with

God," saith the apostle in this chapter. Why so? "For what knowest thou, O wife, whether thou shalt not save thine husband;" or, "how knowest thou, O man, whether thou shalt save thy wife?" Yea, says the apostle Peter, "Likewise ye wives, be in subjection to your own husbands, that if any obey not the word, they also without the word, may be won by the conversation of the wives," 1 Peter iii. 1. It is not therefore a morning or evening duty, though that is good, that is so winning; but a constant walking with God in our places and callings, is convincing and winning. Yea,

Thereby also you shall be fit to die, and leave all the world with ease. The more a man runs his heart into the world in his calling, the harder it will be to die; and the more a man walketh with God in his calling, the fitter he will be to die, and to leave all the world with ease. Now therefore as you do desire, that you may be fit to die, that your ways of godliness may be convincing and winning, that the knots and difficulties of your callings may be taken off, that your callings may be a blessing to you indeed, and that God may meet and walk with you in your general calling, labour more and more to abide and walk with God in your particular calling; which that you may do, labour to be master of your art, be diligent in your place, deal not unjustly with men in your calling, be not too familiar with your callings, but keep your due distance from them; observe what the temptations and snares are, that are incident, and take heed thereof; labour more to live by faith in your calling; let not your general eat up your particular, nor your particular destroy your general. Whatever you do in your calling, "do all to the glory of God," be sure that you turn as God turns, give when he gives, measure all things in your callings by his bushel, and be sure that you always sprinkle your outward employments with some heavenly refreshments. And thus brethren, "Let every one wherein he is called therein abide with God." For it is the duty of every man to abide and walk with God in his calling. And thus I have done with this argument, How to walk with God in our callings.

SERMON IV.

OF GOOD AND BAD COMPANY, HOW TO AVOID THE ONE, AND IMPROVE THE OTHER.

"I am a companion of all them that fear thee, and of them that keep thy precepts." Ps. cxix. 63.

My desire now is to speak something of good and bad company, and therefore have made choice of this scripture. In this section the Psalmist laboureth to confirm his faith, and to comfort himself in the certainty of his own grace, by seven or eight properties of a true believer. The first is drawn from his choice. A good man makes a right choice, he chooses God for his portion, verse 51, "Thou art my portion, O Lord." The second is drawn from the fixation of his resolution. A good man is fully resolved for to walk with God. "I have said I would keep thy words," verse 57. The third is drawn from his earnest desire of God's love and favour. A good man doth desire the favour of God above all things, "I intreated thy favour with my whole heart," verse 58. The fourth is drawn from his self examination. A good man doth ponder, weigh, and examine his own doings and ways, "I thought on my ways, and turned my feet unto thy testimonies," verse 59. The fifth is drawn from his readiness to keep God's commandments. A good man doth not put off or delay his duty, "I made haste and delayed not to keep thy commandments," verse 60. The sixth is drawn from his adhesion to the ways of God in times of opposition. A good man will not be driven from the ways of God by the opposition of men. "The bands of the wicked have robbed me, but I have not forgotten thy law," verse 61. The seventh is drawn from the thankfulness of his disposition under all dispensations. A good man will give thanks to God whatever his condition be. "At midnight I will give thanks unto thee, because of thy righteous judgments," verse 62. And the eighth is drawn from his company. A good man will keep company with those that are good; "I am a companion of all that fear thee." Which is explained by these following words, "and of them that

keep thy precepts, I am a companion of all that fear thee." Though I be a king, and they be never so poor, I, even I, David the king, "am a companion of all that fear thee, and do keep thy precepts." Where then you may observe thus much, that a good man will have good company. It is the property of a good man to keep good company, his companions are such as do fear the Lord. Yea, though they be much beneath him, yet if they be such as do fear the Lord, he will not boggle at their acquaintance and fellowship. "I am a companion," says David the king, "of all those that fear thee." So that a good man will have or keep good company. For the opening and clearing whereof,

First, We will inquire what this good company is, and when a man may be said for to keep good company.

Secondly, Why, and upon what account a good man will have good company.

Thirdly, I will answer unto some objections or cases of conscience, about this company-keeping, and so come to the application.

As for the first, If you ask what this good company is, I answer,

That is not good company which the world calls good company, nor he a good companion which the world calls a good companion. If a man will drink and take off his cups, he is a good fellow in the mouth of the world. And if a man be a jolly, frolic, merry man, that can make you laugh with some pretty tales and jests, he is a good companion; but if he be a good natured man, and will not be angry, then he is a good companion indeed. This is the world's good company, or good companion, but I say that is not good company which the world calls good company.

Neither is that good company which a man's own engagements calls good company; if a man be a good man, and I have a mind to hate him, then I will first make him wicked, that there may be room for my hatred: if a man be a wicked man, and I have a mind to keep him company, or love him, then I will first make him good, and say he is good, that there may be room for my love and fellowship with him. It was a custom amongst the Jews, that the king should once in a year read over the chief part of Deuteronomy in the audience of the people, and as their stories tell us, when Agrippa

came to those words, " One from among thy brethren thou shalt set king over thee; thou mayest not set a stranger over thee, which is not thy brother." Agrippa's eyes trickled down with tears, in remembrance that he was not of the seed of the Jews. Whereupon, saith the story, the people cried out three times, Fear not, Agrippa, for thou art our brother. So that when men please, they can for their own engagements make a man a brother, and a good companion; but I say, that is not good company which my own judgment and engagement calls good company. But that is good company, which the saints generally call good company, and that is good which the Scripture calls good company. " Such are all those that do fear the Lord, and do keep his precepts," for so saith David, " I am a companion of all those that fear thee, and do keep thy precepts."

Now a man is not said to keep company with others, either good or bad, because he doth occasionally fall into their society. Possibly a good man may occasionally meet with, or fall into the society of those that are wicked, yet he is not thereby said for to keep wicked company, neither is this forbidden; for says the apostle, " I have written to you that you should not keep company with," &c. 1 Cor. v., yet not altogether, for then you should go out of the world: and possibly a bad man may occasionally meet with good people, and be in their companies: yet he is not therefore said to keep good company, it is not this or that occasion, that doth make a companion.

Neither is a companion properly one whom a man doth ordinarily deal with in a way of trade and commerce. For the christians in the apostles' time, did ordinarily trade and commerce with the heathens, yet did not keep company with them. But a companion properly is such an one as I do choose to walk and converse with ordinarily in a way of friendship: so that company-keeping doth imply three things, first it is matter of choice, and therefore relations as such, are not properly said to be our companions; secondly it implies a constant walking and converse with another, and so it is expressed, Job xxiv. 8; Prov. xiii. 20. And thirdly, this ordinary converse or walking with another, must be in a way of friendship, and upon this account. He that Samson used as his friend is called his companion. Judges xiv. 20.

A companion therefore properly is such an one as I do choose to walk and converse ordinarily with in a way of friendship. The apostle Paul expresses it by a word that signifies to mingle. "I have written to you that you keep not company with the world;" 1 Cor. v. 11; the word in the original is, that you mingle not with such. There is a meddling with the world, and there is a mingling with the world. It is not unlawful to meddle with the things of the world, but it is unlawful to mingle one's heart with the things of the world; so it is not unlawful to meddle with the persons of the world, but to mingle with them is unlawful, and look, when I do choose the men of the world for to walk and converse with ordinarily, in a way of friendship, then do I keep them company; but if men be such as fear God, and do keep his precepts, and I choose out such to walk and converse ordinarily with, then I am said for to keep them company. And thus now you see what good company is, and when a man may be said to keep bad or good company.

Secondly, Well but, then, why and upon what account will a good man keep good company? Why it is his duty to do it, he cannot but do it, and it is best for him to do it. It is his duty: for if it be his duty to avoid evil company, then it is his duty to have good company. Now for bad company, you know what Solomon says, Prov. i. 10, "If sinners entice ye consent thou not to them;" verse 15, "Walk not thou in the way with them, but refrain thy feet from their path." And again, chap. iv. 14, "Enter not into the path of the wicked, and go not in the way of evil men; avoid it, pass not by it, turn from it, and pass away." Was not God greatly displeased with Jehoshaphat for his walking and fellowship with Ahab and his house? Read, I pray, what is said 2 Chron. xix. 2, "And Jehu, the son of Hanani the seer, went out to meet Jehoshaphat, and said to him, Shouldest thou help the ungodly, and love them that hate the Lord, therefore is wrath upon thee from before the Lord." And ye know what is said in Ps. i., "Blessed is the man that walketh not in the counsel of the ungodly, that standeth not in the way of sinners, and sitteth not in the seat of the scornful." It may be you will say that you do not sit in the seat of the scornful, though you be amongst them ordinarily, but do not you

stand in the way of sinners, nor walk in their counsel? If you be found either in their counsel, or in their way, or in their seat, sitting, standing, or walking amongst them, the blessing doth not belong to you. If you be a professor, you ought not to be found in such company. It is the duty of all those that fear, to avoid evil company; and as it is their duty to avoid evil company, so it is their duty to frequent good company. Cant. i. 5, "If thou knowest not, O thou fairest among women," saith Christ to the spouse, "go thy way forth by the footsteps of the flock," Cant. i. 8. And Solomon doth not only enjoin and commend this duty, but doth encourage us unto it; for, saith he, "He that walketh with the wise, shall be wise, but a companion of fools shall be destroyed," Prov. xiii. 20. So that it is a good man's duty to keep company with those that are good, and as it is his duty, so he can do no other; his spiritual disposition doth naturally lead him unto it. You say, Birds of a feather will together. And what is the reason that the sheep doth converse with the sheep, and not with the swine; that the pigeon doth converse with the pigeon, and not with the raven? But because their disposition doth naturally lead them to converse with those that are in nature like to them. Now the divine nature of all good men is spiritually the same naturally; therefore as a good man, he cannot but converse and walk with those that are good; and as he can do no other, so it is best for him to do so; for in good company there is much safety; as there is danger in bad, so in good company there is great safety. Our way to heaven is a journey, and we are all travelling thither; now ye know that in a great journey, a good day, and a good way, and good company is very comfortable; so in our journey to heaven, a clear gospel day, a plain, even way and good company, is a great mercy, and a sweet privilege; insomuch as John, that wrote the book of the Revelation, glories in it; for, I pray, mark how he styles himself: I, John, am the penman of this book, and would you know, saith he, what my title is, it is this, "Your brother and companion in tribulation, and in the kingdom and patience of Jesus Christ," Rev. i. 9. It seems then, 1. That he that lies in Christ's bosom, will lie in the bosom of the saints; of all the disciples it is written of John, that he was the beloved disciple that lay in Christ's bosom: now says he

to all the saints, "I am your brother and companion." 2. It seems by this Scripture, that he that is our true companion will keep us company into tribulation, "I am your brother and companion in tribulation." 3. You may here see, that those who are the saints' companions in tribulation, shall be companions also with them in the kingdom of Christ, "I am your brother and companion in tribulation, and in the kingdom and patience of Jesus Christ." 4. That it is an honour, mercy, and a great privilege to be a companion with the saints, though it be in matter of tribulation, for herein doth John glory, "I, John, who also am your brother and companion in tribulation;" plainly then, it is a great mercy and a sweet privilege to have good company. But to clear up this thing to you, I shall only make use of one argument, which though one, hath many in the bosom of it.

Thus if there be much benefit to be found in good company, and much hurt and mischief in bad company, then it is best for every good man to keep good company. Now in good company there is much benefit and in bad company there is much mischief. For,

As for the benefit of good company. If in case you be going into evil, ready to fall into what is evil, he will put forth his hand, and will hold you from it, saying, O my friend, do not this thing, for it is displeasing unto your God and my God. Ye know how it was with David, when he was going to destroy Nabal and all his house, he met with Abigail, and by her counsel was diverted from it, insomuch as he blessed God for her counsel. "Ye are the salt of the earth," saith Christ. Now there are two properties of salt, it keeps the meat from putrefaction, and it makes it savoury: so will good company do, they will make you more savoury in your spirits and keep you from that corruption and putrefaction which you are apt unto. And,

As good company will keep you from evil, so they will provoke, whet, and stir you up unto what is good, yea though they be of lower and meaner parts and gifts than yourself: for as the chips and shavings of wood and little sticks will set the great blocks and billets on fire, so warm and lively christians, though weak in parts, will warm and put life into others, though in parts and gifts much beyond them. Heb.

x. 24, "Let us consider one another to provoke unto love, and good works." Solomon tells you, "That the lips of the righteous disperse knowledge," Prov. xv. 7; and if you look into verse 4, ye shall find, "that the wholesome tongue (which only dwells in the mouth of the righteous) is a tree of life." The word in the original is an healing tongue; there is a cutting wounding tongue, and there is an healing tongue. Now the healing wholesome tongue is a tree of life: do you therefore desire to gather and eat of the tree of life? Then must you keep company with an healing, not with a cutting and a wounding tongue. And if ye look into Prov. xx. 21, ye shall find, "that the tongue of the righteous, is as choice silver; the heart of the wicked is nothing worth;" though he saith, his heart is good, and as good as any man's, though he cannot speak of good as others do. Yet says Solomon, The heart of the wicked is nothing worth; but the tongue of the just, or righteous, is not only as silver, but as choice silver. And do you ask wherein the worth of his lips doth consist? I will tell you, saith Solomon, "The lips of the righteous feed many." Do you therefore desire to be fed, and to meet with such company as shall feed your soul, then you must keep company with those that are good and righteous. And if ye look into verse 11, ye shall find he saith, "That the mouth of the righteous is a well of life." Do you therefore desire to draw up the waters of life? Then must you get your bucket, and come unto the mouth and company of the righteous. Now if the mouth of the righteous be a "well of life," and "his lips be as choice silver, that will feed many," what a good thing is it, and profitable, for a man to keep company with those that are good. Yet,

As good company will provoke unto what is good, so in case you fall at any time into evil, they will stretch forth their hand and lift you up again. For, says Solomon, "Two are better than one: For if they fall, the one will lift up his fellow; but woe to him that is alone when he falleth: for he hath not another to lift him up." Eccles. iv. 9. Again, "If two lie together, then have they heat; but how can one be warm alone? And if one prevail against him, two shall withstand him." Are you therefore under some great temptations, and do you fear that Satan will prevail against you,

then you must keep good company; for "if one prevail against him, two shall withstand." Or, is your heart grown cold and dead? Then must you keep good company; for, "If two lie together, then they have heat; but how can one be warm alone?" Or, are you fallen into any sin? Then must you keep good company: "for if they fall, the one will lift up his fellow?" Is it not a good thing then to keep good company? Surely it is. Yet,

As good company will help to lift you out of the mire when you are fallen into it, so in case you be in any outward great strait, good company will help to pull you out of that ditch and strait. For what a great strait was Daniel in, when the king would put him to death, unless he told him his dream, and the meaning of it. How is it possible for me to know what another dreams? Yet Daniel must die unless he tell the king his dream. Well, what doth Daniel do in this case? He goes up to God in his prayers. And chap. ii. 17, "He went to his house, and made the things known to Hananiah, Mishael, and Azariah his companions." But why did he go to them? It seems they were praying companions; for says the text, "He told it to them, that they would desire mercies of the God of heaven concerning this secret, that Daniel and his fellows should not perish." Well, and what then? "Then (verse 19) was the secret revealed unto Daniel." Suppose Daniel's companions had been drunken, wicked companions, what help could he have had from them? But they were praying companions, and a praying companion is a great help in the time of strait. And,

As good company is a great help to a man in the day of his straits, so it is a continual blessing. For says the psalmist, Ps. cxxxiii., "Behold how good and pleasant it is, for brethren to dwell together in unity; it is like the precious ointment upon the head," &c. "It is as the dew of Hermon," &c. "For there the Lord commandeth his blessing, and life for evermore." It is not barely said, that there God blesseth, or doth pronounce a blessing; but, "there he commands his blessing," makes it effectual, "there he commands his blessing." Was not Laban's house blessed with the company of Jacob? Was not Potiphar's house blessed with the company of Joseph? Surely where good company is,

there is God's blessing; yea, "There he commandeth his blessing, and life for evermore." It is recorded of one heathen, that when he would set his house and land to sale, he caused the crier to proclaim, *Bonum habet vicinum;* thinking that it would sell the better for a good neighbour: and surely a good neighbour is a good commodity, and good company is a great mercy. "There the Lord commandeth his blessing, and life for evermore." And thus ye now see the benefit of good company.

As for the mischief of bad company, there is much mischief to be found therein. For as good company will provoke and quicken you unto what is good, so bad company will cool and quench you to what is good. Bad company is a great quench coal, and will abate your affections unto what is good. Will not water mixed with wine, abate of the strength of the wine? so will bad company abate your strength of affections unto what is good. Peter Martyr,* observing that many of the Jews stayed behind in Babylon, when others came out of Babylon with much heat and zeal to build God's house; he inquires into the reason why any should stay behind, and he concludes, that the society and company of the Babylonians, had cooled their devotions unto God's service. They had been seventy years in Babylon, and having so long mingled themselves with the people of the nations, they were now cooled to the service of God. And indeed what is the reason that many are so cooled, over what they have been, unto what is good, but because they have mingled themselves with evil company?

As evil company will quench and cool your affections unto what is good, so they will insensibly infect you with what is evil. You see how it is with diseases, though a man have an infectious disease, yet if I keep at a distance from his breath, and the like, I am not infected therewith; but if I come near him, to suck in his breath, then I am infected.† So here, though evil, wicked men are very infectious, yet if I keep at a distance, I shall not be infected with them; but if I come so near, as to suck in their breath by keeping them company, then I am infected by them. "A little leaven (saith the

* Ideo pietatis amor et religionis studium refrigerati.—Pet. Mar. in Judg. i.

† Et solent vitia alibi connata in propinqua membra perniciem suam effiare, sic improborum vitia in eos derivantur, qui cum illis vitæ habent consuetudinem. Tertul. advers. Voelnt.

apostle) leaveneth the whole lump." And he speaks of persons; though you think there is but a little leaven of malice in such or such a man's company, yet it is leaven, and a little of that leaven will leaven all the lump. Who would have thought that Alexander should be infected with the fashions of the Persians whom he conquered; yet by conversing with them, he was infected by them, say histories. Were not the Jews infected with the superstition of Egypt, by their conversing with them? Had not Joseph learned to swear by the life of Pharaoh, by being in his house? Was not Peter infected in the high priest's hall, by his converse with them? Did not Isaiah cry out, "Wo is me, for I am undone; because I am a man of unclean lips; for I dwell in the midst of a people of unclean lips." It may be you think that they shall not infect you with their principles or their practices. But they do insensibly infect. Evil company doth insensibly infect a man with evil. You see how it is with a white loaf that is set into the oven, and doth stand near the brown bread, it comes out with a black patch on the side thereof. And ye have heard what he said that went thrice to Rome; the first time, said he, I saw your fashions and manners; the second time, I learned them; and the third time, I brought them away.* So the first time you go into evil company, you see their fashions, and hear their words; the second time ye learn them; and the third time you bring them away. And will you say, No, I have been often in such company, yet I have not brought their fashions and manners away? Then remember what the apostle saith, "Evil communications doth corrupt good manners." And have you not brought a black patch away with you? It may be others see it, though you yourself do not; I believe the word of God rather than your word, "Evil communications doth corrupt good manners." It will infect your judgment before you are aware, and your practice before you are aware, for evil company is infecting company. And,

As they do insensibly infect a man with what is evil, so they do, by your company with them, draw you into the fellowship and communion of Satan. For there are two great princes in the world, Christ and the devil; and Christ ruleth

* Qui semel it Romam, videre scelestum; qui secundo, cognoscere, qui tertio, in patriam referre.—Cluxeri Histor. mundi Epist. p. 687.

in the children of obedience, and those that have communion with them, have thereby communion with Christ; so Satan ruleth in the children of disobedience, and those that have fellowship and communion with them, have thereby communion with Satan. For how can a man have communion with the members, and not with the head? Now is it not a great evil and mischief to have communion and fellowship with Satan? This you have that keep company with wicked men.

And if you have communion with Satan and his members here, then you shall have communion with him and his members hereafter. There is a draught of things to come in this life. Those that stand at the right-hand of Christ here, shall stand at his right-hand in the day of judgment; and those that stand on his left-hand here, shall stand at his left-hand at the day of judgment. So those that are bound up with the wicked here, shall be bound up with them hereafter. There is a bundle of life, and there is a bundle of death. Some men there are that shall be bound up in the bundle of life, and some men there are that shall be bound up in the bundle of death. "Take them and bind them hands and feet, and cast them into outward darkness," saith Christ. Here is a company of drunkards, bind them together, and cast them into hell for ever. Here is a company of swearers, and there a company of opposers and jeerers, and there a company of unclean persons, and there a company of mere moral, civil men; take them and bind them up as so many faggots, and cast them into that fire that shall never be quenched. And I pray tell me, who do you think shall be bound up with these; shall not those that bundle up themselves with them now, that keep company with them now? "Come out of her, my people, (saith Christ,) lest you partake with her in her plagues." They that will partake with wicked men in their company now, shall partake with them in their plagues hereafter. And,

For the present, what shall you get by all your wicked company, but a reproach and a blot that shall not be wiped off. Doth not the mingling of the water with the wine alter the colour of the wine? so shall your mingling with evil company do; it shall not only abate of your strength unto what is good, but it shall alter the colour of your profession. Solomon says, It shall be a snare unto you. Prov. xxii. 24,

25, "Make no friendship with an angry man, and with a furious man thou shalt not go, lest thou learn his ways, and get a snare unto thy soul." What will not a wicked man think of himself when you that are godly shall keep company with him; will not he say, If my condition were not good, and if I were not godly, this man or woman would not keep company with me? Thus you harden and offend him by your company with him; and who among the saints is not offended at your walking and conversing and keeping company with such men. Now is it nothing in your eye to offend the generation of the righteous and the unrighteous too? Yet this do you do, that are professors of the gospel, by your company with those that are evil. Yet this is not all; but as you offend the godly and the wicked, so you offend God himself: for the more you converse with wicked men, the less you converse with God and God with you; the more you turn in to them, the more God will turn from you; the more society you have with the world, the less acquaintance you shall have with God. God is offended in a way of anger, the saints in a way of grief, and the wicked in a way of stumbling by your keeping company with them. Oh, what an evil thing, therefore, is it to keep company with those that are bad. And thus ye see the mischief of evil company. Now if there is so much benefit in good company, and so much mischief in evil company, then it is and must be best for every good man to keep good company. But as ye have heard there is much benefit in good company and much mischief in bad company, surely, therefore, it is best for every good man to keep good company. It is his duty to do so. He can do no other but do it. And it is best for him to do so. Therefore a good man will have good company.

But though a good man will have good company; yet, whether is it not lawful in some case to keep evil company?

Ye have heard, and seen, and read what the Scripture saith in this case: and the Scripture only is the rule of lawful and unlawful things. And pray do but mark what stress the Scripture lays upon this prohibition, and how it loads it with variety of expressions. Will ye instance in the persons of ungodly men, then it forbids your company with ungodly sinners and scorners, Psalm i., vain persons that have no good, but are merely vain, dissemblers, evil and wicked doers. "I have not sat with vain persons, neither will I go in with

dissemblers. I hate the congregation of evil doers and I will not sit with the wicked." Psa. xxvi. 4, 5. And what can be said more to delineate and characterise the persons themselves, whose company you are to avoid. Or will ye instance in the actions of keeping company? Mark how the Scripture loads this prohibition in that respect. Here the psalmist saith, "I have not sat with them, neither will I go in with them." If they go into an ale-house, or elsewhere, "I will not go in with them, I will not sit with them," neither will I go in with them. And in Psalm i., there are three terms, standing, sitting, and walking. "Blessed is the man that standeth not, sitteth not, walketh not with them." And in Prov. iv., there are no less than four expressions put together upon this prohibition in one verse; at verse 14, he saith, "Enter not into the path of the wicked, and go not in the way of evil men;" verse 15., "avoid it:" there is one expression; "pass by it," there is another; "turn from it," there is another; and "pass away," there is another. Now if you will break through this hedge of expressions with some distinctions, take heed how you distinguish over and against the letter of the Scripture that is so full, lest a serpent bite you.

Why, but may I not then converse or be with relations, husband, wife, child, or kindred, if they be ungodly?

Yes, for says Paul, "If the unbelieving husband will not depart, let him not depart;" but you must remember what I said in the beginning, that company is a matter of choice, and not of necessity; and if you shall rather keep company with your carnal, jeering and opposing kindred, than your spiritual kindred, then it is not your kindred, but the carnality of your kindred that you keep company with.

Why, but if it be unlawful for a professor of the gospel to keep bad company; whether may it stand with grace so to do? Suppose I do keep bad company, and suppose it be unlawful so to do; whether is it such an evil as cannot stand with grace?

I answer, that it is in this sin as in all other sins: now says the apostle, "He that is born of God sinneth not;" that is, he doth not so lie in his sin, but he purgeth it out; "For he that hath this hope, (saith he) purgeth himself," else he were of the devil, saith he, who sins, and does not purge out his sin, but as the fountain or spring purgeth out the dirt that

doth fall into it; so "he that is born of God sinneth not," but he doth purge it out: and so in this case, as a good man may fall into another sin, so he may fall into this sin of evil company; but if a professor be convinced of the evil of it, and doth not leave his evil company, and purge himself from it, then he is not born of God; thus it can no more stand with grace, than another sin.

Why, but if it be unlawful to keep evil company, and it be our duty to keep good company, yea, to keep company with all those that do fear the Lord; then, whether is it lawful to keep company with erroneous persons? For David saith here, "I am a companion of all those that do fear thee." Now so it is, that some that fear God have fallen into errors; whether may I therefore keep company with them? for answer.

It is ordinarily said, that a man must consider his own weakness, and their strength that are erroneous: if I will mingle a spoonful of wine with a pailful of water, shall I not lose the wine? For so say some, If I am but weak in knowledge, and will go and mingle myself with them that are strong in errors, what shall I do but lose my own knowledge? But there are two or three things that I shall speak to in this case of conscience.

Ye must know that there are some errors that are less; some that are so gross, that do manifest a wicked state and condition in them that hold them: they are called "errors of the wicked," 2 Pet. iii. 17. Now though I may sometimes converse with those that are less erroneous; yet if their errors be such, as cannot stand with grace, the gospel, or the power of godliness, then I am to shun their company, as much as the company of a drunkard, swearer, or unclean person. But,

You must observe all this verse, the Psalmist doth not barely say, "I am a companion of all that fear thee," but he explains who those are that do fear the Lord, and such as keep his precepts; now men that depart from his ordinances do not keep his precepts; and therefore though in regard of their other profession, they may seem to fear the Lord, yet if they do not keep his precepts, this scripture doth not warrant me to be their companion. And,

You know and must remember what the apostle saith, "If

any one that is called a brother, does walk inordinately, from such turn away and avoid them." So that though I must keep company with those that fear the Lord, while they stand right, yet if they do not stand right, but do walk disorderly, then I am commanded by another scripture to avoid them for a while, that they may be ashamed. And thus now I have answered to those several cases of conscience, and have cleared the doctrine.

Now by way of application, if a good man will keep good company, then what shall we think of those that never kept good company all their days, twenty, thirty, forty years old, yet never kept good company. It may be they have kept company with civil, moral men; but, saith David, "I am a companion of those that fear thee, and do keep thy precepts." Or it may be they have sometimes occasionally fallen into good society, but they have not chosen the company of such as do fear the Lord, and keep his precepts. Now if a good man will keep good company, what shall we think of those that never kept good company all their time? Yea, what shall we think of those that have kept, and do keep bad company? Every man is as his company is. The heathen could say, *Noscitur ex comite qui non cognoscitur ex se*, He is known by his company that cannot be known by himself. A man's company is a commentary upon his life, thereby you may understand a man though he be never so close and mystical. It is recorded of Augustus Cæsar, that he came thus to know his daughters' inclinations; for being once at a public show, where much people were present, he observed that the grave senators talked with Livia, but loose youngsters and riotous persons with Julia; whereupon he concluded, that the one was grave, and the other light and vain. And if you look into Ps. l., ye shall find that God doth conclude a man to be a wicked man, by his converse and partaking with those that are wicked, verse 16, "But to the wicked, God saith, what hast thou to do to declare my statutes, or that thou shouldest take my covenant in thy mouth?" Dost thou come to the ordinance, and dost thou speak of the covenant of grace? These do not belong to thee. Why? For thou hatest instruction and castest my words behind thee; for when thou sawest a thief, then thou consentedst with him, and hast been partaker with the adul-

terers. Oh, what a sad condition therefore are all those in that do keep bad company; God looks upon them as wicked, that do keep company with the wicked.

Why, but is it not better to keep bad company than none; it is not good for man to be alone, that is uncomfortable, is it not therefore better to have bad company than none?

No. For suppose you were to go a journey, whether would you choose to ride alone, or in the company of thieves? Would you not rather choose to ride alone, though it be uncomfortable, than in the company of thieves? Surely ye would. Why, such are all wicked company. *Amici temporis fures,* Friends are thieves of time, especially wicked friends; for they will not only rob you of your precious time, but of your precious duties, principles, and graces. Or, I pray, tell me which is worst, sin or sorrow? Possibly it may be your affliction and sorrow to walk alone, but to keep bad company is your sin and guilt.

Why, but are they all alike guilty that do keep bad company?

No. For there are three sorts of men that do or may possibly keep bad company. Some are wicked themselves, some are professors, and some members of churches. It is ill for a wicked man to keep bad company, it is worse for a professor of the gospel, but it is worst of all for a member of a church.

It is ill for any man to keep evil company, it is ill for a wicked man himself to do it; for the more companions that a man hath in his wickedness, the more he is enclosed therein, and the harder it is for him to break away from his wickedness. Is it not a hard thing for a bird to fly away that is taken in the lime-twigs? Why, evil company is the devil's lime-twigs; and what is the reason that many a man doth continue in his sin, who is convinced of the evil of it, but because he is held fast in the bands of his wicked company. Oh, saith one, I confess it is my duty to live otherwise, but I cannot get away from my company. So that though a man be a wicked man himself, it is an evil thing for him to keep bad company. But,

As it is an evil thing for a wicked man to keep bad company, so it is worser for a professor of the gospel to do it. *Peccatum majus.* The more repugnancy there is between

the sin and the sinner, the worser and the greater is the sin. Now a professor of the gospel is such an one as hath dedicated himself unto God, and separated himself from the world; and therefore for him to keep ill company, is directly contrary unto his profession; the more that any man sins against his knowledge and conscience, the greater is his sin; such a sin is called rebellion. 1 Sam. xv., "And rebellion is as the sin of witchcraft." Now what professor is there of the gospel, but doth know that he ought to avoid evil company? Possibly a poor, ignorant, profane man, may not know his duty in this case, but a professor knows his duty; and therefore as it is evil in any man to keep bad company, so it is worser for a professor of the gospel to do it. But,

It is worst of all in a member of a church, for he sins against his present remedy. Sins against remedy are the worst sort of sins. It is a grievous sin for any young unmarried man to commit fornication; but if a man be married and doth commit adultery, he sins worse. Why? Because he sins against remedy, and because he hath a remedy by him. So here, it is ill for any man to keep ill company, but worst for a member of a church. Why? Because he sins against a remedy: he hath communion with the saints, he hath good company by him, a remedy by him, and therefore for him to keep bad company is the worst of all; the more any man despises the ways and ordinances of God by his sin, the greater is his sin. Now if you look into Scripture ye shall find, that when a man hath two things before him, and doth choose the one, and refuse the other, look what that is that he leaveth, that he is said to hate and despise. Now a member of a church hath two sorts of companies before him, and therefore if he shall choose to walk with those that are evil, he is said in scripture language to hate and despise the company of the saints, and is it a small thing in your eyes to hate or despise the company and communion of the saints?

Why, but though I do keep company sometimes with those that are wicked, yet I do not despise or hate the company of the saints, for I keep company with them too.

That is strange; strange in regard of yourself, strange in regard of others. Strange in regard of yourself; for if you find any savour in good company, is it not strange that you should not refrain bad company? surely good company will

either eat out the heart of your bad company, or bad company will eat out the savour of your good company. Strange, therefore, it is, if you should keep both companies; strange in regard of yourself, and strange also it is in regard of others. When the deer is shot, the rest of that herd will push him out from amongst them; and if you be shot with the arrow of bad company, it is strange that the rest of your herd should not push you out of their society, and avoid you, because you will not avoid others. But,

Again, You say that you keep company with the good too, but I pray tell me, is it not the mud of the good company that you converse withal? As in a river or pond there is water and mud, so in all good company there is the water of life and there is the mud of their infirmities and vanities; if it be the mud of good company that you converse with, then do you keep bad company, even whilst you converse with those that are good. But,

Again, You say you keep company with both good and bad, bad and good. But who art thou that dost so? I read in the Old Testament, that those creatures which live both in the land and in the water, were counted unclean. I read, also, in Scripture, of a sincere christian and a lukewarm professor; and what is lukewarm water, but that water which hath both heat and cold in some equal degrees; and what is the lukewarm professor, but one that can run with both, and comply with both companies? I read, in Hosea vii., that God compared the declining people of Israel unto a cake dough-baked, baked on the one side and not on the other. Why? But because they were for God and idols too: they could walk and converse with both. So now, when men are for both companies, they can stand with the saints and they can stand with sinners, they can sit with the scornful and they can sit with the faithful, they can go in and out with God's people, and they can go in and out with the wicked. What doth this argue, but that they are dough-baked, and lukewarm professors!

Yet, if there be any such amongst us, which God forbid, give me leave to speak three or four words unto them. You say you can walk with both good and bad; but what comfort can you have in walking at all with those that are bad? Mr. Dod said once, There are two questions, which if a man can

rightly answer he may have comfort in every condition: the first question is, What am I? the second question is, Where am I? If, said he, in answer to the first, What am I? I can truly say, I am godly, I am in Christ, I am one of those that fear the Lord in truth: and if in answer to the second, Where am I? I can say, I am in my calling, I am on God's ground, I am where God would have me be: then I may have comfort in every condition. But if you that are professors of the gospel be in company with the wicked, can you say, I am where God would have me be, I am on God's ground; surely no. What comfort, therefore, can you have in walking with such company at all? But, again, do you not know that wicked company lie in wait for your halting, and desire your falling. Mark what David saith, Psalm xli. 6, "And if he come to see me, he speaketh vanity, his heart gathereth iniquity to itself, and when he goeth abroad he telleth it." And mark what his son Solomon saith, Prov. iv. 14, 15, 16, "Enter not into the path of the wicked, avoid it, pass not by it." Why? "For they sleep not, unless they have done mischief, and their sleep is taken away unless they cause some to fall." It may be you think they love your person, but do they not hate your way more than they love your person; and will you walk with them that hate your way, because you think they love your person? Be not deceived. Do you not know, again, that in time of danger they will thrust you into danger, that they may save themselves out of danger. There was a correspondency between good Jehoshaphat and wicked Ahab; and when they went into the field, what did Ahab say to Jehoshaphat? read what he said and did, 2 Chron. xviii. 29: "I will disguise myself, and will go to the battle, but put thou on thy robes." But see the issue of it at verse 31. Plainly shewing thus much, that if a good man hold correspondency with a wicked man, in case there be any danger, the wicked will thrust the good man into danger to keep himself out. But, in the last place, if you have not considered this scripture before, yet have you not thought on that scripture, "As for those that turn aside by crooked paths, the Lord will lead them forth with the workers of iniquity?" Now is not this a crooked path, to walk with both companies, with the godly in the light and with the wicked in the dark. Well, woe be to him that doth so, God

will in due time discover him, and lead him forth with the workers of iniquity. Oh what an evil thing, therefore, is it to halt between two, to walk and keep company with both good and bad, bad and good.

Why, but I praise God, will some say, I do not keep company with the wicked at all, so as to walk and converse with them ordinarily in a way of friendship.

That is well; but what if God will count vain company in the number of bad company? for ye have it, Ps. xxvi. 4. Again, What if God will account those for your companions, whom you would be with, if you were not restrained by the fear and shame of your friends? We find in Scripture that a man is said to do all that which he would do if he were not restrained. Abraham is said to sacrifice his son, because he would have done it, if God not restrained him. For look what that company is, that I would be with if I were not restrained, that company, according to Scripture, I am said to keep. Again, What if God will account all those for your companions, whom you justify, like, or consent unto in the way of your sin and vanity? so ye read, Ps. l. 20. Or what if God will account your companions according to your servants of choice, as David said, that he would not know a wicked person. Mark how he proves it, he saith, "A froward heart shall depart from me, I will not know a wicked person," Ps. ci. 4. But says he, ver. 6, "Mine eyes shall be upon the faithful in the land, that they may dwell with me; he that walketh in a perfect way, he shall serve me; he that worketh deceit shall not dwell within my house, and he that telleth lies shall not tarry in my sight," ver. 7. It is ordinarily said, *Servi sunt humiles amici*, Your servants are the lowest friends; and though a man's servants are not properly his companions, yet his companions may be known by his servants of choice. Possibly a man cannot get a godly servant, but if a man have godly and ungodly before him, and shall choose such as are vain or wicked, this argues what his company would be, if he had his choice and his mind. Now God can turn up all our leaves, and see what grows under them. And if all these things be true, how few are there that will stand free from wicked and ungodly company. But, my beloved, either there is comfort enough to be found in good company, or there is not: if there be not enough in

good company, why should you converse with them at all; and if there be comfort enough in those that are good, why should you not walk with them altogether?

But what shall we then do, that we may avoid evil company, that we may choose good company, and improve them?

Here are three questions; I shall speak something unto them distinctly. Do you ask, What you shall do that you may avoid evil company? You must be sure to mortify your affection, inclination, and disposition to the vanity thereof; it is not the persuasions of evil company that doth lead you to them, but it is your own disposition and unmortified affections: you think it may be, that it is their spark that doth set you a fire, but it is your tinder that doth close with their spark; if there were but water thrown on your own tinder, you could not be so fired with your evil company. "The woman that thou gavest me, (said Adam,) did give me to eat," and so I was drawn into this sin; but it was his own disposition that did lead him to it. It is in this sin, as in all other outward sins, it is not the drink or wine that is in fault, but a man's own drunken disposition that doth lead him to drunkenness; it is not the beautiful object that is in fault, but a man's own wanton disposition that doth lead him into uncleanness: so here, it is not your company, but your own disposition that doth lead you into it. Would you, therefore, avoid and abstain from your wanton company, then labour to mortify your own wanton affections; would you abstain from and avoid your vain company, then must you first labour to mortify the vanity of your own heart and spirit, otherwise though you abstain from your company for a time, yet you will return again. Therefore mortify your own lusts and earthly affections.

And again, Be sure that you avoid all those occasions, which though lawful in themselves, yet through your weakness may any way open a door unto evil company. When the Nazarites were forbidden wine, they were forbidden grapes also, whereof wine was made. Numb. vi. 3. And if ye look again into Prov. iv., you shall find, that when the Holy Ghost by Solomon doth forbid you to "enter into the path of the wicked, and going in the way of evil men;" he doth in the name of God command you to "avoid it, not to pass by it, to turn from it, and to pass away," ver. 15; as if, says Mr.

Greenham, a physician should give directions to a man to avoid the plague; the great receipt, saith he, that the physician gives against the plague, is made of three ingredients, *cito, longe, tarde;* fly quickly, remove far from the place, and return slowly: so here, saith he, as if there were a plague in evil company, the Holy Ghost bids us to depart quickly, and not to come near. And what is the reason that many are so overtaken with evil company, but because they do not avoid all those lawful occasions, which through their own weakness doth lead them into it. Be sure, therefore, that you avoid them.

And if you would avoid evil company, then you must part abruptly with them, you think thus it may be, though I part with my evil company, yet I will part civilly with them, I will go but once more; and again, I will go but once more to them, and will part fairly, with them. Whereas our Saviour Christ saith, "If thy right eye offend thee, pull it out, and if thy right hand offend thee, cut it off." Look what that is, that is near and dear to you, that must you part with in a way of violence; if you will part fairly with your company, then go them and say, Well I have sinned, and sinned greatly in keeping your company, now God through grace hath convinced me of it, I will never come in your company in any such way again; and he that will part with wicked company must be abrupt in his parting with them.

If you would avoid and part with your evil company, then you must humble yourself before the Lord, for all the vanity and folly of your company-keeping; some men being convinvinced of their sin in company-keeping, do resolve never to come in such company again: and it may be they do refrain for three or four weeks, but in a short time they are where they were. And what is the reason, that though men be convinced of their sin, yet they return again, but because they go forth in the strength of their own resolutions, and were never thoroughly humbled for their sin? Would you therefore so refrain from evil company, that you may return no more; then go and humble yourselt before the Lord for the evil of it.

And be sure that you do not follow the saints to that is good for their multitude: for he that follows the multitude to good, because they are many, will also follow the multi-

tude, unto what is evil. Saith Austin,* We must not do a good thing because many do it, but because it is good; if others do that which is good, saith he, I will rejoice because they do it, but I will not do it because they do it that I may do good; or, to do well few shall suffice; yea, one; yea, none. The way to follow the multitude to evil is to follow the multitude to good; because of this multitude take heed therefore of that.

And if you would avoid evil company, then be sure that you keep good company, and improve them. *Intus existens prohibet alienum.* It the vessel be full of wine, it keeps out air and water; good thoughts keep out bad thoughts, good words keep out bad words, and good company keeps out bad company. And what is the reason that many poor souls are led away with naughty and debauched company, but because they are not hedged in with good company, for as bad company keeps men from good company, so good company will keep men from bad company. Look what day or time that is wherein you depart from good, then are you exposed unto them that are evil; yet it is not enough to have good company, but you must improve also, and gain by them; for if you be in good company, and do get nothing by them, you will say, What need I make such a stir about my company, I see no difference; as one company talks of the world, so doth the other also; and as I get nothing by the one, so I get nothing by the other also; therefore I will return unto my old company again. Would you therefore avoid evil company, then be sure that you keep good company and improve them.

Why, but I do not know how to choose good company; I confess good company is a great mercy, and bad company is a great misery, but how shall I be able to choose my company.

You must go to God and beseech him for to choose your company for you. Mark what David said and did; in this scripture he saith, "I am a companion of all those that do fear the Lord;" yet, verse 79, he goes to God, and prayeth, saying, "Let those that fear thee, O Lord, turn unto me,

* Non faciendum, quia multi faciunt sed quia bonum ut bonum faciunt, aut bene satis mihi sunt pauci, satis unus, satis nullus.—Augustin.

Si potentiores faciunt, non faciam quia faciunt, sed gaudeo quia faciunt.

and those that have known thy testimonies." As if he should say, Of a truth, Lord, I am a companion of all that do fear thee; but it is not in my power to bend their hearts unto me; the hearts of all men are in thy hands, now therefore "let those that fear thee turn unto me." So do you go to God, and say likewise, Lord, do thou choose my company for me, let those that fear thee turn in unto me: oh, do thou bow and incline their hearts to be my companion.

If you would act herein under God, and make a right choice of your company, then must you get your nature changed. The ravens keep company with the ravens, and not with the pigeons: but if the nature of the raven were changed into the nature of a pigeon, it would flock together with the pigeons. Every thing follows its nature. Labour therefore to get your nature changed; and then though you have flown with the ravens, you will flock together with God's doves.

And if you would make a right choice of your company, then you must get a discerning spirit, that you may be able to put a difference between those that fear the Lord, and those that fear him not; between those that are civil moral men, and those that are gracious. "The spiritual man judgeth all things." And what is the reason that people keep no better company, but because they cannot discern of company; and what is the reason that they discern not between company and company, but because they are not spiritual? Would ye therefore be able to make a right choice of your company? then get this discerning spirit.

And observe who those are that are most profitable in your society; who those are that are most sound in their faith, savoury in their spirits, and most communicative and profitable in their lives, and with such close; some have knowledge enough to discourse with, but they have no savour in their spirits; some are of a savoury spirit, but they want knowledge, and are not communicative; but let those "that fear thee turn unto me, and those that have known thy testimonies," saith David; as if he should say, Lord, I would not only have knowing men to be my companions, but fearing men. Neither would I only keep company with "those that fear thee," but with such as are knowing, and do "know thy

testimonies." Thus let his choice be yours, a knowing man, and a fearing man, a fearing man, and a knowing man, will make a meet companion for you.

And if you would make a good and comfortable choice of your company, then in case you be a man, let the friend of your bosom be a man, and not a woman, unless it be your wife; and if you be a woman, then let the friend of your bosom be a woman, and not a man, unless it be your husband; for if the special friendship be between a man and a woman, who knows how soon the spiritual friendship may degenerate into carnal affection; and if it may be, let your friend or companion stand upon even ground and a level with you; for the German proverb is often true, He that will eat cherries with noblemen, shall have his eyes spirt out with the stones thereof. Therefore affect not company too high for you. But whatever degree your company be of, be sure that it be not such as will be apt to take an offence from you, nor such as you shall be apt to take an offence from; for then your society will always be uncomfortable. Thus do, and your choice shall be right.

Well, but suppose I have chosen good company, and I can say in truth with David here, "I am a companion of all those that do fear thee, and do keep thy precepts;" what shall I do, that I may improve my company? I praise God I have good company, but I do not know how to improve them; what shall I therefore do that I may improve my good company?

You must be humbled for all the mispence of your time with good company. The way to improve a mercy is to be humbled for our not improvement of it.

If you would improve your good company, then lay your right ends together when you meet; you see how it is with a fire that is half burned, if you would mend it, you take the sticks and lay them together; but then you do not lay the cold ends together, but the hot ends together. Now there is no company so good, but hath its cold ends, and its warm ends; if ye lay your cold ends together when ye meet, what heat, what warmth, what good or improvement can you expect? Therefore lay your warm ends together when you meet together.

Observe what that grace is wherein your companions doth

excel, and labour more and more for to draw that forth, every saint and goodly man doth not excel in every grace. *Non omnis fert omnia tellus,* Every ground will not bear wheat or rye, but some one grain, and some another; so every christian doth not excel in every grace, some in one grace, and some in another: it may be he hath life, and you have light; or it it may be he hath light, and you have life; and why hath he given this to the one, and that to the other, but that they may be beholden one to another, and have communion one with another? Would ye therefore improve your communion and good company, then observe what that grace is wherein he doth most excel, and labour more and more to draw out the same.

Take heed also of pride and envy, which is the bane of all good company: pride will make a man speak, and pride will make a man hold his peace. I am a poor ignorant man or woman, saith one, and therefore I will not speak of that which is good before their company; yet this may be out of pride; I have an opportunity of doing good in this company, saith another, and therefore I will speak, yet that may be out of pride too. There was such an one spake good words at such a time, saith another, but it was little to the purpose, and that may be out of envy: now envy is between equals, and pride between unequals; either therefore you converse with your equals, or with your unequals; if with your equals, take heed of envy; if with your unequals take heed of pride.

And if you would improve your good company, and profit by them, then pray over them, and for them. Of all companies, says Mr. Greenham, I never profited and gained more by any, than by that that I prayed most for; and what is the reason that you profit no more by your good company, but because you pray no more for them, and over them. You will pray over your hearing, reading or meditation; why? because it is an ordinance: so is this of good company too. And therefore if you would improve and profit by your company, then pray much over them, and for them; yet

Do not rest secure in your good company: for though you be in a good company you may possibly get more hurt than if you had been in bad company. And what is the reason that you come sometimes from bad company into which you

have been cast occasionally, or against your will, with your soul troubled for their sin, and through God's providence do get good thereby: and you come from good company with your heart flat, and dead and dull, but because you rest secure in your good company? In the one you watch, in the other not. Wherefore rest not secure in your company, though it be never so good. Good company is God's ordinance, but it is an ordinance that doth tend unto other ordinances: some ordinances tend unto other ordinances. It is an ordinance that we should rest on the Sabbath-day. But why are we to rest then; for rest sake? No, but we are to rest in order to the positive sanctification of the Sabbath; so we are to keep good company, but why; what for itself? No, but in order to other duties. Now if it be an ordinance that lies in order to other ordinances, why should we rest in it? The more you rest in it, the less you will improve it. Therefore do not rest secure in your company, although it be never so good. Be sure that you look upon it as a duty in order to other duties; and thus you shall improve it. Which that you may do,

Consider with yourself what a great talent is put into your hand, when you are betrusted with good company; thereby you have an opportunity of gaining something which you cannot gain by your public ministry. You see how it is with the candle; I can take a candle in my hand, and go down into the cellar, and see that thereby which I cannot see by the light of the sun; possibly the sunbeams may not reach that which the beams of the candle may reach; so possibly the light and beams of private communion may reach that truth which the beams of the public ministry doth not reach. It is possible that a minister may speak to a truth in public, yet he may leave it in the dark; when I come at home, then I may beat it out more fully with good company. So that this ordinance of good company is a great talent; and will the Lord require an account of the improvement of our talents, then surely he will have an account of the improvement of our company. In Mal. iii. it is said, "Then those that feared the Lord spake often, and a book of remembrance was written." God hath a table-book at work upon all our speeches and conferences when we meet together, and he sets down what we say and what we do when we meet together;

and shall we not, then, take heed what company we come in, and what we do and speak in our company? It is recorded of Mr. Latimer, the martyr, that though he was somewhat free in his speech when he was examined, yet when he heard a pen writing behind the curtain, then he was more wary. Why, believe it, there is a pen behind the curtain that sets down what you do and say in your company, whether good or bad. Now, therefore, as ever you do desire that God's own hand-writing, that God's own table-book may not be brought out against you, take heed what company you come into, and what you do and speak in your company. Thus shall you be able to avoid bad company, to choose good, and to improve the same. And thus I have done with these arguments of good company. A good man will have good company: "For I am a companion (says David) of all them that fear thee, and do keep thy precepts."

SERMON V.

THE CARNALITY OF PROFESSORS.

"*For ye are carnal.*"—1 Cor. iii. 3.

In this chapter the apostle Paul doth charge the Corinthians with carnality, which charge he maketh good by divers arguments. The first is taken from their incapacity of receiving and digesting the strongest truths of the gospel: verses 1, 2, "And I, brethren, could not speak unto you as unto spiritual, but as unto carnal, as unto babes in Christ. I have fed you with milk, &c. For ye are carnal." The second argument is taken from the envyings, strifes and divisions that were amongst them: verse 3, "For whereas there are among you, &c., are ye not carnal?" The third argument is taken from those sects that were amongst them: verse 4, "For while one saith, I am of Paul, and another, I am of Apollos, are ye not carnal?" They set up one minister against another, crying up of one that they might cry down another, and so put themselves into sects; this was carnality. And upon this account he saith to them, again and again, "Are ye not carnal?" Where then observe thus much, that it is possible for

great professors of the gospel to be very carnal. These Corinthians were a church of Christ, and of all the churches they had the greatest gifts; and the apostle writing to them, calleth them "saints, sanctified in Christ Jesus," chap. i. 2. Yet here he saith they were carnal. Possibly, then, a man may be a member of a true church, have great gifts, and be a good man too, yet he may be very carnal; surely he that is a member of a church, greatly gifted, and a good man, is a great professor; this a man may be, and yet carnal. Possibly then a man or woman may be a great professor, and yet may be very carnal. Great professors may be very carnal. And if you ask what this carnality is, or when a man may be said to be carnal? I answer, in the general, that you may know what this means by the opposition and the application of it. It is applied sometimes to the unregenerate: John iii. 6, "That which is born after the flesh is flesh," or carnal; so it is not used here, for the apostle doth not charge the Corinthians with an unregenerate estate. Sometimes this word, carnal, therefore, is applied to the regenerate, such as are weaklings, babes and sucklings in religion, who have more sin than grace, more flesh than spirit; and so he speaketh of these Corinthians. But the word, carnal, is used also by way of opposition, and it is opposed sometimes unto what is mighty: so in 1 Cor. x. 4, "Our weapons are not carnal, but mighty." And sometimes it is opposed unto what is spiritual, so Rom. xv. 27; vii. 14. Look, therefore, when a man's fleshly weaknesses do so far prevail, that he is not spiritual in his life and conversation as he should be, then he is said to be carnal, accordigg to this scripture. Now thus it is possible that a member of a church, a gifted person, yea, good men may be very carnal. Possibly great professors may be very carnal. In prosecuting whereof we must inquire,

First, How it may appear that great professors of the gospel may be carnal.

Secondly, How far that carnality may reach or extend.

Thirdly, What is the difference between the carnality of the world and such as are good.

Fourthly, What an evil thing it is for a professor of the gospel to be carnal.

Fifthly, How we may be freed from this carnality and be more spiritual.

And if you ask,

How may it then appear that great professors may be very carnal?

I answer, The more any man's judgment is defiled and dabbled with corrupt opinions, contrary to the grace of the gospel, the more carnal he is, especially if he father them on the Spirit, or on the gospel, for the gospel is the ministration of the Spirit. "The words that I speak (saith Christ) are spirit and life." Now two sorts of doctrines there are that are contrary to the gospel; the doctrine of natural free-will, and the doctrine of legal and Jewish ordinances. The doctrine of natural free-will is contrary to the substance of the gospel, which is the word of grace. The doctrine of legal and Jewish ordinances is contrary to the dispensation of the gospel, and both carnal. The doctrine of natural free-will is a carnal doctrine, for saith John, chap. i. 13, "Which are born not of blood, nor of the will of the flesh, nor of the will of man." The will of the flesh and the will of man go together. Was it not a carnal thing for Abraham to go into his maid Hagar? So is it also a carnal thing for a professor of the gospel to turn into a covenant of works, whereof Hagar was a type. And I appeal to yourselves, saith Austin to the Pelagians, pleading for the power of nature, and for natural free-will,* What is that which makes an outward difference between one man and another? One is rich and another is poor. Doth man's will make that difference, or God's providence? Saith Austin: One man is strong, and another weak; doth man's will make the difference, or God's providence? One man or woman is fair, and another deformed; doth man's will make the difference, or God's providence? I suppose you will say that it is God's providence, not man's will that doth make the difference. And if you say that man's will makes the difference in these outward things, and not God's providence, "are ye not carnal?" how much more, if you say, man's will, and not God's grace, doth make the difference between one man and another in spiritual

* Nec tribuuntur ista meritis voluntatum, sicut sunt celeritates, vires, bonæ valetudines, et pulchritudines corporum, ingenia mirabilia, et multarum artium capaces naturæ mentium, vel quæ accidunt extrinsecus, ut est opulentia, nobilitas, honores, et cætera hujusmodi, quæ quisque ut habeat, non est nisi in Dei potestate, &c.—Aug. de correp. et grat. cap. viii.

things? As for the doctrines of legal and Jewish ordinances, they are expressly called "carnal commands," Heb. ix. Now possibly a professor of the gospel may be baptized into these opinions, possibly he may hold the doctrine of free-will under the gospel of free grace. Possibly he may be baptized into the doctrines of Jewish, legal customs, ceremonies, and sabbaths, and of all the opinions that are now stirring and ranging abroad. What opinion is there, but the maintainers thereof do father it upon the Spirit? What brat or bastard opinion is there abroad, but men do come to lay it down at the door of the gospel, and father it upon the Spirit? Now when men do this, may we not say to them, as the apostle here, "Are ye not carnal?"

The more any professor is guilty of levity and lightness in their ways of the gospel, the more carnal he is; for says the apostle, "When I therefore was thus minded, did I use lightness; or things that I purpose, do I purpose according to the flesh, that with me there should be yea, yea, and nay, nay? But as God is true, our word towards you was not yea and nay," 2 Cor. i. 17. Levity therefore is a sign of carnality. Now there is a twofold levity: one in regard of judgment, whereby men are unsettled in their judgment, saying yea to a doctrine to-day, and nay to-morrow, or soon after. This levity of judgment is a sign of carnality. The other levity is in regard of practice, whereby men are slight, vain, and frothy in their communication. Now possibly a professor may be thus light in both these respects. Some are light in regard of their judgment, unsettled; some are light in regard of their practice, for they can sit and spend a whole afternoon in vain conferences, and not a word of God, of Christ. Are not these carnal?

If there be little or no difference sometimes between the carriage and behaviour of a professor, and of the men of the world, then possibly a professor may be very carnal. And what difference was there between David and the men of the world, in that matter of Uriah? What civil man would have done as David did? And so now, though a professor may be very good and gracious, yet if he be stirred sometimes in a business of his own concernments, what difference is there between his carriage and the carriage of the world? May we not then say to such, "Are ye not carnal?"

If there be envyings, wranglings, strifes and divisions amongst the professors of the gospel, then it is possible that great professors may be very carnal; nay, that ye read in the text, and I wish we might not read it in our daily experience. It is the property of a gracious, spiritual frame of heart, to rejoice in others' graces, and to mourn for others' sins; it is the property of a carnal heart, to envy at others' graces, and to rejoice and triumph over others' failings. Now if professors be at variance, one of one judgment, and another of another, in case a man of another judgment do fail or fall, what rejoicings will there be. If I were spiritual, then I should more grieve for God's dishonour by the fall of a professor, than rejoice at the fall of my adversary; but yet so it is, though God's name be dishonoured by his fall, because he is a professor, yet another will triumph therein, because he is his adversary. Is not this carnal?

If a professor of the gospel can neither give reproof without anger, nor take a reproof without distaste; is he not carnal? "You that are spiritual, (saith the apostle,) restore him that is fallen, with the spirit of meekness." But now if an admonition or reproof be given, either it is given with anger, or it is taken with distaste; why? but because we are carnal.

If a professor of the gospel do use carnal engines to obtain his designs, is he not carnal therein? Now thus it may be possibly with some great professors of the gospel. Abraham was a good man, and a great professor, yet when he would secure and preserve himself, he said to Sarah, "Say thou art my sister." The thing was true, and no lie, but it was a carnal engine that he then used to obtain that design. We read of Abner, that when he would bring about the kingdom to David, for his own preferment, then he went to the heads of Israel, and told them of the promise that God made to David. Here he made use of a religious engine to obtain his own carnal ends. Sometimes men use their carnal engines to obtain religious designs; sometimes they use religious engines to obtain their carnal ends: and what more ordinary than this, even amongst professors. Why? but because they are carnal.*

* Ne quis in honestas cupiditates religionis glaucomate oblegato.—Vide Cluveri Histor. Mundi p. 108.

The more selfish any man is in seeking his own particular interest in the time or cause of public concernments, the more carnal he is; a selfish principle is a carnal principle. Now this may be amongst professors. Why, says the Holy Ghost to Reuben, Judges v., "Why abidest thou amongst the sheepfolds, to hear the bleatings of the flock; and why did Dan remain in ships?" There was a great cause afoot, Zebulun and Naphtali came forth, but as for Asher they abode in the creeks, Dan in the ships, and Reuben abode among the sheepfolds to hear the bleatings, &c. That is, says Peter Martyr,* *plus pecundum balatu quam reipublicæ cura;* they were taken with their own particular interest, more than with the public concernments. Do I therefore mind my own particular interest, more than the public concernment; and in times of public concernments or calamities, do I seek to raise myself, and to get a place, a preferment, and great things in this world? then am I carnal. Yet thus, even thus it is with many professors at this day. Why? Because they are carnal. Possibly then great professors may be very carnal, and that is the first thing.

Secondly, Well, but suppose this doctrine be true; great professors may be very carnal; how far may this carnality of professors reach and extend?

It may reach and extend unto all our life, as a scurf may grow over all the body, so this carnality may grow over all the body of a man's conversation, and extend unto every part thereof.

For will you instance in our thoughts, apprehensions, reasonings, and conclusions? Is it not a carnal thing to abound with carnal reasonings? This the disciples did before Christ's ascension, therefore saith he often to them, "Why reason you so amongst yourselves?"

Or will you instance in the matter of our affections; is it not a carnal thing for a man to love and savour the things of the world? This professors may possibly do, witness the parable of the thorny ground.

Or will you instance in the matter of our words? Is it a carnal thing to bite and devour one another, and to carry

* Habitabat Reuben ultra sordanem in pasevis videtur, que ob suas oves ut greges rei. pub. curam omisisse, eo nomine nos accusat, quod tunc sua curarint. Plus pecadum balatu quam reipub. cura caperentur.—Pet. Mart. in Judg. 5.

tales between men. Yet this the Galatians did, "if ye bite one another, shall ye not be consumed one of another?" Gal. v. 15.

Or will ye instance in the matter of our condition? Is it not a carnal thing to be discontented with one's condition, and to think that I can carve better for myself, than God hath carved? This the Israelites did when they said, Would God we had stayed still in Egypt.

Or will ye instance in the matter of our lives, and reformation of our practice? Is it not a carnal thing for a man to run from one extreme to another? *Dum vitant stulti vitia, in contraria currant.* Yet what more ordinary than this in the way of reformation from no liberty, to all liberty; from prodigality to covetousness?

Or will ye instance in the matter of our duties? Is it not a carnal thing for a man that hears the word of God, to apply it to another, and not to apply it to himself? Saying, that the preacher met with such an one, and not think of himself; or to be more taken with the volubility of expression, than with the spirituality of the ordinance; or if a man preach the word, is it not a carnal thing to have flings and throws at particular persons, or to preach the gospel for hire, that he may get a living thereby, or to preach Christ out of envy? Yet this the apostle says to the Philippians that some did in his days.

Or will ye instance in the matter of the enjoyments and special communion with God? Is it not a carnal thing to desire incomes from God, for the sweetness of them? The ordinance of the Lord's supper is an ordinance wherein you enjoy much of God, and have special communion with him; yet you know how the apostle blames the Corinthians for their carnality therein; and if ye look into Luke xxii. 24, you shall find that even at the Lord's supper, the disciples of Christ were debating who should be greatest; a carnal thing for any of them to desire greatness above the other, but that this question should be started then, what carnality was here?

Or will you instance in our approach unto Christ, and coming to Christ? If carnality be excluded in anything, surely it will be excluded here; yet, says the apostle, "henceforth know I no man after the flesh," no not Christ himself;

it seems that formerly they did thus know Christ himself, and were too carnal in their very knowledge of Christ, but says Christ to those that followed him, "Ye follow me not because of the miracles, but because of the loaves." Plainly then this carnality may extend and reach unto all our actions, and if there be no action that a professor can do, but this carnality may get and soak into it, then surely this doctrine is most true, that possibly a great professor may be very carnal, possibly great professors of the gospel may be very carnal; and so much for the second.

Thirdly, But you will say, If a professor may be carnal, and this carnality may possibly boil up to such a height; is there any difference then between the carnality of the world, and of the professors of the gospel?

I answer, Yes, much, if professors be godly, for all professors are not godly. For though a professing good man may labour under much carnality and be too fleshly, yet he is not born after the flesh; for, saith the apostle Paul, "Abraham had two sons, the one by a bondwoman, the other by a free-woman," Gal. iv. 22, but he who was of the bond-woman, was born after the flesh, but he of the free-woman, by the promise. Which things are an allegory, for these are the two covenants; that is, the legal covenent, and the covenant of grace. Now we, brethren, saith he, verse 28, as Isaac was, are the children of promise. We are born after the promise, the promise comes and works grace in us; we are regenerated and born again by the word of the promise; and therefore though these children of Abraham may labour under much carnality; yet they are not born after the flesh, as carnal, unregenerated men are, who are the children of the bond-woman, and belong to the legal covenant.

Though professing good men may be very carnal, yet there is a grace and goodness that doth run along there withal, for they are the smoking flax, and though there may be much smoke and carnality that may offend the eyes of beholders, yet there is a fire of grace and zeal that runs out therewithal. What a smoke did Jonah make when he ran away from God, and was froward and peevish even with God himself? But though therein he was very carnal, yet still there was a grace and goodness that did go along therewith.

Though a good man may be very carnal, yet he doth not sow to the flesh, or savour and relish the things of the flesh most. A carnal wicked man doth savour and relish the things of the flesh; thus to be carnally minded is death, saith the apostle, "And those that sow to the flesh, shall reap corruption," Rom. viii.

As for those that are carnal and wicked, it is not so with them, though a good man may be very carnal and may labour under much carnality, insomuch as his parts may be too big for his grace, and his passions may be too big for his parts, yet he doth not take up a carnal prejudice against the whole way or power of godliness; the wicked are carnal, and they are carnally prejudiced against the very power of godliness in the strictness of it. Possibly a good man may be prejudiced against this or that particular way of God; but as for the power of godliness, he is not carnally prejudiced against that.

Though a good man may be very carnal, and labour under much carnality, yet that carnality doth not bear the rule and sway in his life. *Finis actionem domina et regina.* Look what a man's general and utmost end is, that doth give a law unto all his actions, that rules, that sways, and is the yard wand unto all his actions;* as for example, if the world and profit be my end, my general and utmost end, then my actions generally are directed and swayed by it; and I must preach so much as may stand with my profit; I must go to meetings and improve soul-opportunities so far as may stand with my profit; I must acquaint myself with men so far as may stand with my profit; and if such and such things may not stand with my profit in the world, then I must not do the same. Why? Because the world is my great and utmost end, and every thing must strike sail unto it. Now, I say, though a good man may labour under much carnality, yet there is no carnal thing that doth bear sway with him as it doth in those that are carnally wicked.

Though a good man may be very carnal, yet his practical conclusions and therefores are not so carnal, as the men of the world's are. Mark what carnal therefores the men and people of the world have, Prov. vii. 14, 15, "I offered my peace offering, now therefore am I come forth to meet thee."

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* Finis dat mediis amabilitatem ordinem et mensuram.

A strange therefore; as if she should say: I have been at duty, and at the ordinance, and therefore now am some forth to play the whore. Ye know also what a therefore Pilate had upon the judgment of Christ, "I find no fault with him, now therefore scourge him and let him go." Oh, strange therefore; I find no fault with him, therefore whip him; nay therefore whip him not, for I find no fault in him. Are there not such therefores still in the hearts of men, The Lord is gracious and merciful, therefore I will go on to sin; the Lord is patient and forbearing, therefore I will repent afterwards. But, says David, "Oh how great is thy loving kindness, therefore do the children of men put their trust in thee." Though a good man be too carnal, yet he is not so carnal in his main inferences and conclusions as the carnal world is.

Though a good man may be very carnal, yet he is very sensible of his carnality, and is much humbled; for when I saw, said David, the prosperous estate of the wicked, then I had such carnal reasonings as these, I have cleansed my hands in vain; but, says he, "I was a beast therein," Ps. lxxiii. 22. The more a man looks into the spirituality of the law, the more he will be sensible of his own carnality; now a good man looks much upon that. As for the law, says Paul, "That is holy, spiritual, good, but I am carnal," Rom. vii. 14. Who was a more spiritual christian than Paul? Yet he was sensible of his carnality. Why? Because his eye was upon the spirituality of the law. Now so it is with all those that truly fear the Lord; they do not stand and compare themselves with others, for that would augment their carnality; but they compare themselves with the law and word of God, and so they are exceeding sensible of their own carnality, and are humbled for it. So that then now you see, there is a difference, and what that difference is; and though the carnality of the good professor be not so bad as the carnality of the world and the men thereof, yet it is evil; the best of this carnality is naught, and if you ask me

Fourthly, Wherein the evil of it doth appear? I answer, in many things it is a very evil thing for a professor of the gospel to be carnal. For,

Is it not an evil thing for a man to walk contrary unto his

profession? *Peccatum majus ubi repugnantia major;** is it not an evil thing for a judge to do unjustly? Yea. Why? Because it is contrary unto his profession. Now the profession of the gospel is spiritual, and the professors of the gospel are so described and called. The spiritual man judgeth all things; and ye that are spiritual, restore such an one, &c. The weapons of our warfare, saith the apostle, are not carnal. Carnal weapons are suitable to carnal profession, but spiritual weapons are suitable to spiritual profession. It is observed, therefore, that the weapons of the papists, in advancing their religion, are very carnal. Somewhat they have in their religion which doth comply with every man's carnal humour.† If a man be devotional, they have a cloister for him; if he be disputative, they have their schools for him; if a man or woman do pretend to chastity, they have their nunneries and priories for them; if a man be given to filthy wantonness, they have their allowed stews for them; if a man be given to honour and greatness, they have a cardinal's cap for him; and if he be given to despise and neglect the world, they have a mendicant friar's place for him: some carnal thing still they have that doth suit with the carnal and wicked humours of men. Why? But because their warfare is carnal, and so the weapons of their warfare are carnal. But the professed religion is spiritual and reforming: how have they, therefore, advanced their religion, but by powerful preaching, printing good books, translating the Scriptures into the vulgar tongue, catechising and instructing the younger, open disputings for the truth, and sufferings for the same: thus the reformed religion hath been carried on by good and spiritual weapons. Why? For our warfare is spiritual. Now in these times we are upon another condition of reformation, we are reforming the very reformation, and therefore the weapons of our warfare should be most spiritual. Are we therefore carnal now in these days? then do we walk contrary unto our profession.

Again, Yea, though you be a good man, yet, if you be carnal, you do thereby make yourself unfit both to do good and receive good. Carnality makes you unfit to do good, it will hinder the vend of their commodity. I think sometimes,

* Peccatum majus ubi specialis repugnantia inter peccantem et peccatum.—Aquin.

† Sir Edward Sandys Relig. West.

says Luther,* to convert all the congregation, but the auditor comes and smells something of a man in what I say, and so he turns away, and no good is done. And in experience, what good doth admonition do, when administered in passion? This carnality is an hindrance to your doing good; and as it is an hindrance to your doing, so it is an hindrance to your receiving it. It stops your ears and eyes; your ears from hearing the word, and your eyes from seeing into the dispensations of God. Yea,

Thereby you will be apt to give and to take offence. As this carnality will make you unfit to do and receive good; so it will make you apt and ready to give and to take offence. Who more apt to give and take offence than young christians? And why so? but because they are babes and carnal. Yea,

Though you may have some real goodness in you, yet if you be carnal, you may dishonour God more by your carnality, than you may honour him by your goodness. And is it not an evil thing for a man to dishonour God more by the carnality of his profession, than he can honour God by his profession?

The more carnal you are, the more you are exposed, and expose yourself to the temptations of Satan, and his instruments. It was a carnal thing for David to number the people; Satan observed this carnal affection, and the text says, That he stirred him up to number the people. And if professors have their carnal ends hanging out, what may not the devil and his agents add and join thereunto? Yea,

The more carnal you are in your profession, the more you will lose the sweetness of your christian communion. What happiness can a gracious spiritual heart take in conversing with a carnal professor? Suppose a man deal but in outward friendship, what happiness can he have in conversing with one that is selfish, that seeks himself in all his acquaintance and converse? Is there any happiness in that friendship where a man must always stand upon his guard, to keep himself from the selfish designs of him that he walks with?

* Sentit anima hominis verbum arte super se compositum esse, et stercore humano (ut apud Ezekielem est) opertum, humano affectu pollutum, ideo nauseat super illo, et potius irritatur quam convertitur.—Luther loc. com. clas. 4. de minister. verbi.

No, surely. Much more may I say in our spiritual converse and communion. What happiness, what sweetness can I take in conversing with him that is selfish and carnal? Oh, this carnality is a great enemy to the sweetness of christian communion, it will eat out all the sweetness of it. And

It will hinder the advance and progress in the ways of God, and knowledge of Christ: for what growth or advance can a people make in their practices, when ministers cannot advance them in their preachings. Now, says the apostle here, "I could not deliver to you strong meat;" why? "because ye are carnal." Wherefore says the apostle, "Would you grow in grace? then laying aside all malice and superfluity of naughtiness, as new born babes desire the sincere milk of the word, that ye may grow thereby." How is it therefore with me; am I a professor, and yet carnal? Then do I walk contrary unto my profession; then am I thereby unfit to do good, or receive good; then am I fit to take, and to give offence; then may I dishonour God more by the carnality of my profession, than I may honour him by my profession; yea, and thereby do I expose myself to the temptations of Satan and the world; then shall I lose the sweetness of christian communion, and be kept from growth in grace. Surely therefore it is an evil thing, and very evil for the professors of the gospel to be carnal; yet this may be possibly in great professors, members of churches, and men of great parts and gifts, and a good man too may be very carnal; such were these Corinthians. Possibly therefore, a man may be a great professor, yet he may be very carnal. That is the doctrine.

Fifthly, Now if you ask, What then is our duty that doth flow from hence? I answer,

If great professors of the gospel may be very carnal, then why should any man stumble, or be offended at the ways of God and godliness, because of the carnality of professors? Will ye be offended at that which ye know must and shall come to pass? "These things have I told you before, (saith Christ) that when they come to pass, you may not be offended." Now he hath told us beforehand, "That in the last days the kingdom of heaven is like to ten virgins waiting for the coming of the bridegroom, and they all sleep;" that is, there shall be a general scurf and carnality grow upon the

face of all profession. And now ye know these things, will ye be offended? Or will ye be offended if your own offence will be your own ruin? "Woe to the world, (saith Christ) because of offences; offences must come, and woe to him through whom they come." Here is a woe and a woe; a woe to the offender, and a woe to the offended. "Woe to the world," why? Because their offence will be their own ruin. And whoever you are that are apt to be offended at these things, either the lives of professors is the rule by which you walk, or the Scripture. If the lives of professors be the rule of your life then why do you not live as they do; as the best of them do? Why are you not rather convinced by their goodness, than stumbled by their carnality? And if Scripture be your rule, why then do you not say in the midst of all these carnalities, Well, yet the Scripture is the Scripture, and godliness is godliness; and therefore though all men have their failings, and the fairest face hath its wart, and there is none so spiritual, but hath some carnality, "yet I and my house will serve the Lord;" for I walk by Scripture, and Scripture is Scripture still, and godliness is godliness still. Oh, take heed and be not offended.

If great professors of the gospel may be carnal, then why should we not all take heed of their carnality? Possibly a member of the church may be carnal, and shall not we then take heed of carnality? Possibly a man of parts, and gifts, and graces too may be carnal, and very carnal, and shall not we then take heed of carnality? And in case that we have been, or are carnal in our profession, why should we not all labour to scale off this carnality?

But what shall we do herein; I confess I have been and am very carnal in my profession, what shall I therefore do that I may be rid of this carnality, and be more spiritual?

I answer, In case you have been carnal, be humbled for it; a man will never leave a sin for the time to come, unless he be humbled for the time past. Now who is there in all the congregation, but may cry, Guilty, guilty; I am the man or woman that have been carnal under my spiritual and gospel profession? Why then, go to God and humble yourself before him, in reference to the carnality of your profession.

In case you have begun a profession of Christ, be sure that you look well to your beginnings and settings out. It

is possible that a carnal beginning may make a spiritual ending; but ordinarily if men set out the wrong way at the first, they go wrong all the day after. And it is usual with men to be carnal at the entrance into their profession. *Facite me, &c.* said he, Make me Bishop of Rome, and I will be a christian: but *dimidium facti*, He that hath well begun hath done half his work. Be sure therefore that you look to your beginnings, and first settings out for godliness. And in case,

That you are a professor of some standing, then make it your work and business to go over your work again, and to refine your work. "Ye are now come to that mount, where the Lord hath given you wine upon the lees well refined." Ordinances refined, and gospel enjoyments refined. And what do these call for but a refined conversation; and how should that be, but by making it your work and business to refine all your duties? True, I have prayed many times, but now I will go and refine all my prayers. I have conversed with the saints, now I will go and refine my converses; yea, I will make it my work now to refine my works.

Whether you be of long or late standing in religion, pray much for the pourings forth of the Spirit upon you. Ye read in the gospel, that the disciples were very carnal before Christ's death; but after his ascension, then they were very spiritual. Why? Because the Holy Ghost was then fallen down upon them. Would ye be more spiritual, and less carnal, pray for the pourings out of the Holy Ghost upon your souls. And,

Take heed of a selfish spirit, especially in matters of religion; for a selfish spirit is a carnal spirit. The more plainness of heart you have, the more free you will be from designs and selfish carnalities. Go therefore to the Lord, and pray unto him for a plain and open spirit.

And in case you are to deal with any fleshly concernment, there watch most. A good man should be spiritual in carnal things. But when we meddle with carnal things, we are apt to be carnalized with them; and therefore the more carnal the concernment is, the more do you watch and pray, lest you enter into this temptation.

Be sure that you take heed of conversing with carnal and

wicked company: "Evil words corrupt good manners," saith the apostle. And what good words shall ye have with them? With them ye shall meet with that which shall prejudice you against what is good, and those that are good. Would ye therefore be freed from the carnality of profession? Take heed how you come into carnal wicked company.

Call yourself often to an account, and examine your ways, whether they be spiritual or carnal. Come, oh, my soul, thou hast been in such a company, but hast thou not been frothy, vain, passionate, or carnal in it? Thou hast been this day amongst those that are spiritual; but hast not thou been carnal in the midst of them? Come, O my soul, thou hast been at such a work this day, but hast thou not been selfish in it; hast not thou desired to be seen therein; hast not thou been carnal even in thy spirituals? Thus daily call yourselves to an account. And

Consider but this one thing, That the only way to lose a mercy, is to be carnal in it. If you be a professor, one that God loves, the more carnal engines you use to obtain a mercy, the more like you are to lose it; and in avoiding of misery, the more carnal your engines are to avoid it, the more like it is for to come upon you: if you be wicked and ungodly, the Lord, it may be, will let you obtain your ends by your carnal engines: but if you be godly, the more carnal engines you use to obtain a mercy, the more like you are to lose it. Now therefore as you do desire to avoid misery, and to obtain mercy, labour to be more spiritual; take heed of carnal engines in all your designs; make it your work and business to be more spiritual; rest not upon your holy mount, saying, "The temple of the Lord, the temple of the Lord;" for it is carnal; and take heed of divisions, strifes, and envyings; "For if these things be among us, are we not carnal?" And this may easily be; for you see the text, and you remember the doctrine. Possibly great professors may be very carnal. Wherefore let us all make it our work and business to be more spiritual.

SERMON VI.

WHAT OUR WORK IS, AND HOW TO BE DONE.

"Whatsoever thy hand findeth to do, do it with thy might: for there is no work," &c.—ECCLES. IX. 10.

SOME think that Solomon speaks these words in the person of an epicure; as if he should say, "Let us eat and drink; for to-morrow we shall die." But an epicure doth not use to speak so religiously. An epicure doth not mind the acceptance of God. But Solomon here saith, "Eat and drink with joy, for God accepteth thy works." verse 7. An epicure doth not look upon this life, "and the days thereof as vanity," which Solomon here doth (verse 9.) An epicure doth not look upon these outward things and blessings of this life, as the gift of God; Solomon here doth, verse 9. But in this Scripture, Solomon tells us, That a man should cheerfully take all the good that God doth put into his hand to have, verse 7, 8, 9. And that he should industriously do all that work which God hath put into his hand for to do, "Whatsoever thy hand findeth to do," &c. verse 10. Where ye have an injunction, and the reason of that injunction. The injunction in these words, "Whatsoever thy hand findeth to do," or is in the power of thy hand to do, as some translations have it, "do it with thy might." The reason in these words, "For there is no work," &c., that is, there is nothing in the grave which you can turn your hand unto; for the word יד is sometimes put for work, sometimes for device, sometimes for knowledge, and sometimes for wisdom. So that from these words you may observe thus much; that it is our duty to do that work with all our might, which is in the power of our hand to do. For the clearing whereof, we must first inquire what this phrase, "Whatsoever thy hand findeth to do," or whatsoever is in the power of thine hand, doth import. Now if ye consult the Scripture, it implies, authority, ability, opportunity.

It implies authority or commission. That which falleth within the compass of our commission and authority, is, "in the power of our hand." Upon this account Abraham said unto Sarah concerning her maid, Hagar, "Behold thy maid is in thine hand," Gen. xvi. 6., that is, within the compass of

thine authority. *Illud vere possumus, quod jure possumus;* Though a man be able to do a work, yet if it be not lawful, or within the compass of his calling and commission; it is not in the power of his hand to do it.

As the words do imply authority, so they do imply an ability. For though a man have the power of authority to do a work, yet if he have not the power of ability to do it, it is not in the power of his hand to do it, "Knowest thou not, (said Laban to Jacob) that it is in the power of my hand to do thee hurt;" Gen. xxxi. 29, that is, knowest thou not that I have power and strength, and ability for to do thee hurt. But,

As the words do imply an ability, so they do imply opportunity and occasion; for though a man have both power of authority and of ability to do a work, yet if he have not opportunity to do it, that work is not in the power of his hand to do, "And let it be when these signs are come unto thee, that thou do as occasion shall serve." 1 Sam. x. 7. In the Hebrew, as your margin tells you, it is, "as thy hand shall find to do." And if ye look into Scripture, you shall find that a man is said to do that work which he doth occasion, though that work be done by another. It is said of Judas, "That he purchased a field with the reward of iniquity." Acts i. 18. "He brought the thirty pieces of silver to the priests, and threw them down in the temple, and departed," Matt. xxvii. 3, 5. If he threw them down in the temple, and left them with the priests, how did he purchase the field? Yes, says the interlineary gloss, *Possidit quia possideri fecit,* he purchased it, because he did that work which did administer the occasion of this purchase. Look therefore when a work is within the compass of our commission, and which we have ability and opportunity to do, then it is truly said to be in the power of our hand, and that is the work which our hand finds to do; so that whatever work that is, which God doth betrust us with, if we have ability and opportunity to do it, that we are to do with all our might.

Well, but then, when may a man be said to do this work of God with his might, or with all his might?

I answer, it imports several things, He that will do the work of God with all his might, must do it with all his soul in opposition unto heart-division. As in the New Testa-

ment, there is mention of διψυχος ανηρ, "a double-minded man:" so in the Old Testament ye read of a divided heart, לב ולב, "An heart and an heart." And the word לב, heart is sometimes put for the affections, and sometimes for the conscience: yea, the Hebrew hath no other proper word for conscience, but the word heart. Therefore says the apostle, "If thy heart condemn thee, (that is) if thy conscience condemn thee," that is an Hebraism. Now the heart of the affection may run one way, and the heart of the conscience may go another way. The heart of Herod's conscience went with John the Baptist, but the heart of his affection went with the dancing damsel. The heart of a drunkard's conscience is to leave his drunkenness, but the heart of his affections is to his drunken company. But where a man doth the work of the Lord with all his might, he doth it with all his soul, in opposition unto heart-division.

And as he must do it with all his soul in opposition unto heart-division, so he must do the work of the Lord with all his understanding, in opposition unto unskilfulness. For, says Solomon, "It is the property of a fool, not to know the way to the city," Eccles. x. "The labour of the foolish wearieth every one of them; because he knows not how to go to the city," that is, saith Luther, he wearieth out himself in difficult things and questions, when he doth not know that which is ordinary and necessary for him to know; "he knows not the way to the city:" but as for the wise man, saith he, "his heart is at his right hand," verse 2. "A wise man's heart is at his right hand:" that is, he doth his work with dexterity, in opposition unto all unskilfulness.

And as he doth God's work with dexterity, in opposition to all unskilfulness, so he doth it with all his affections, in opposition unto lukewarmness and remissness. For as the philosopher observes, All remissness doth arise from the mixture of some contrary: now where there is a mixture of the contrary, a man cannot do his work with all his might. But,

As he must do God's work with all his affection, in opposition unto lukewarmness; so he must do it with all his ability, in opposition unto all reserves; Ananias and Sapphira did not do God's work with all their might; why? because they had their reserves: but Moses did God's work with

all his might, when he brought the people out of Egypt; why? because he left not an hoof behind him; he had no reserves. So now, when a man will not leave an hoof behind him, but doth God's work without all reserves; then he doth it with all his might. Yet.

As he must do it with all his ability, in opposition unto all reserves; so he must do it with his diligence and industry, in opposition unto sloth and negligence. "For he that is slothful in his business, is brother to the scatterer," saith Solomon. Do you therefore ask when a man may be said to do God's work with all his might? I answer it implies these things. He must do it with all his soul in opposition to all division of heart: with all his dexterity in opposition unto all unskilfulness: with all his affections, in opposition unto all lukewarmness and remissness: with all his ability, in opposition unto all reserves: and with all his industry and diligence, in opposition unto all sloth and negligence.

Well, but then, why and upon what account or reason must we do God's work with all our might?

I answer. It is God's will we should do so; it is his commandment, "Thou shalt love the Lord thy God with all thine heart, with all thy soul, and with all thy might." Deut. iv. 5, 6. Here are three alls; "All thy soul, all thy heart, and all thy might." And lest you should think that there may be some abatement in New Testament times, ye shall find that when Christ cites those words he adds a fourth all. "Thou shalt love the Lord thy God with all thy heart, with all thy soul, with all thy strength, and with all thy mind," Luke x. 27. Here are four alls. There is no abatement then in our gospel times. Now if this be the mind and will of God, is not this reason enough for us? I heve read of one bishop in the primitive times, whose name was Quodvulteus, that is, *Quod vult Deus*, What God will. And indeed methinks that this should be the name of every christian, Quodvulteus, what God will. We all profess ourselves the children of Abraham: he went blindfold into God's commandments, and subscribed to a blank. Now we have commandment for this both in the Old and New Testament. It is scriptural.

As it is scriptural, so it is a rational thing that we should do God's work with all our might. For is it not a reasonable thing that we should give God his due, his own?

Now all our might is God's due. *Non est devotionis,* says Prosper. It is not matter of devotion to give all unto God within a little; *sed fraudis est,* it is matter of fraud to keep a little from God.

And is it not a reasonable thing for us to love God, "who hath loved us, and given himself for us and to us;" who is the proper object of our love, "and altogether lovely;" who only gives the affection of love, and the thing loved; and who only can recompence your love with love again? Now it is the only measure of true love to know no measure. *Non amat, qui non zelat.*

And is it not a reasonable thing that we should do God's work as fully as our own? Now if you have any business to do in the world, you will turn every stone, you will do it with all your might. Have you not sinned with all your might; and shall your sins be crying sins, and your prayers whispering prayers? Will your run when the world calls, and will you creep when God calls? You will not bear it that a man speak to you when you speak to another; and will you bear it, that the world should speak to you while you speak to God. But,

Is it not a reasonable thing that we should do that work with all our might which is our only work, and the work which we came into the world for? Now we did not come into the world to get riches or credit. We have nothing here to do but to serve the Lord; all other things are subordinate to that. And if you look into Scripture, you shall find that the Lord only stands upon this work. "Thou shalt worship the Lord, and him only shalt thou serve; only let your conversation be as becometh," &c. Here doth the *only* stand. Yea, says Solomon, this is the whole of man, Eccles. xii. 13, "Fear God, and keep his commandments; for this is the whole of man." The word *duty* is not in the original; but "fear God, and keep his commandments; for this is the whole of man." Now is it not rational that we should give God his due? That we should love God; that we should do his work as fully as our own; that we should do that work with all our might, which is our only work. Surely therefore it is very rational that we should do God's work with all our might. Yet

As it is rational that we should do thus, so it is a dangerous

thing not to do it;" For cursed is every one that doth the work of the Lord negligently." Sloth and the curse grow together upon one stalk. The Jewish Rabbins do observe, that there is a three-fold *Amen* that is not right, which, say they, is followed with a three-fold answerable punishment. There is *Amen amputatum, Amen acceleratum,* and *Amen pupillare,* or *Orban amen. Amputatum amen,* when a man doth cut short his duty, and say, *Amen,* unto half duty: *amen acceleratam,* is when he doth huddle over his duty and say, *Amen,* to an hastened duty: *amen pupillare,* as when a man doth perform his duty without understanding and heart, and doth say, *Amen,* to he knows not what. Now say they, If a man shall cut short his duty, God shall cut short his comforts; if a man shall hasten and huddle over his duty, God will hasten and not prolong his days; and if a man shall perform his duty without heart and understanding, then his children shall be orphans; as his duty was without heart and knowledge, so his children shall be without parents. Thus they express the punishment of doing God's work negligently; but ye know what the prophet Malachi saith, "Cursed is every one that hath in his flock a male, and offers a corrupt thing to God;" as if he should say, Cursed is that man or woman who hath masculine affections for the world, and female affections for the work of God. Oh, now if it be the will and mind of God that we should do his work with all our might, and a rational thing to do so, and a dangerous thing not to do it, then surely it is our duty and matter of great concernment to do the work that God hath given us to do with all our might.

Why, but will some say, this seems contrary to Scripture, reason, and our own judgment: to Scripture, for the Scripture saith, "Use the world as if you used it not; to reason, for the magistrate is to do justice, and if he do it with all his might, there will be *summum jus,* and *summum jus* is *summa injuria;* and to our own judgment, for according to our own principles we are able to do nothing, but according to this text and doctrine, there is something "in the power of our hand to do." How can this therefore agree either with Scripture, reason, or our own judgment and principles?

Yes, very well, for doth the scripture say that we are to use the world as if we used it not; and doth it say here,

"whatever is in the power of thine hand to do, do it with all thy might?" Then put these together, and what is the result but this, that we should use all our skill and might, "to use the world as if we used it not." And as for the reason about the magistrate, though the magistrate is to do justice, yet he is to shew mercy also; if he have righteousness in the one hand, he is to have mercy in the other; "I will sing of mercy and judgment," saith David; Seneca tells us, that many punishments are as much disparagement to the magistrate, as many funerals are to the physican. Ye know that Moses was the first magistrate that Israel had, and did not he do justice? Yes, yet he was the meekest man upon earth. Why so? But to shew that the dispensations of justice will grow very well upon the disposition of meekness. And as for our own principles and judgment, who doth not say, and say true, That every man hath power to do more than he doth; and what if I should say with some, That God will condemn no man for that sin which he hath not a power to avoid? The heathens ye know are judged by the law of nature, but though they are not able to keep the whole law of nature, yet they are able to avoid these sins against nature for which they are condemned; so under the gospel, though a man be not able to convert and turn unto God, and keep the whole law of the gospel, yet he may be able to avoid the sins against the gospel, as positive unbelief and resistance, for which he shall be condemned; thus some. But I need not say thus, neither shall I need to enter into this debate here, for whoever liveth under the gospel is either godly or ungodly; if he be ungodly, he hath power to do more than he doth; and if he be godly, his will is freed; for "whom the Son makes free, he is free indeed," though his will be not *libera*, free, yet his will is *liberata*, freed; as Austin speaks. So that thus now you see there is nothing in this truth that is contrary to Scripture, reason, or our own principles; yet give me leave to bound it with these cautions,

Though you must do God's work with all your might, yet "your moderation must be known unto all men;" some will not let God's work pass through their hands, but they will have some toll for their own interest. Joshua did not so, he conquered the land of Canaan, and when he came to divide it, what a little thong did he cut out of that leather

for himself and family; some will not do God's work, but they will carry it on with their own passion. It is said of Scanderbeg, that great soldier, that when he spake sometimes of Christ, he would be so earnest that the blood would spirt out of his lips: but as God's grace hath no need of our sin, so his work hath no need of our passions; though therefore you do the work of the Lord with all your might, yet you are to manage it with mildness and sweetness, therein also your moderation is to be known to all.

Though you do the work of your hand with all your might, yet you must not look upon the success of your work as the fruit of your hand, but of God's hand; when Israel went out against Amalek, Moses lifted up his hands, and Israel prevailed; then Joshua built an altar, and called it *Jehova-nissi;* for, says the text, Exod. xvii. 15, "The Lord hath sworn that he will have war with Amalek;" but, verse 16, in the Hebrew, as the margin tells, it is the hand on the throne of the Lord; and why, says Glassius, is it said, the hand on the throne of the Lord, but to shew that this victory was not from Moses' hand, though it was a praying hand, but from God's hand. Luther tells us of Staupitius, that when he came to his government, he said, I will govern according to law; but when he saw that his government did not succeed, then he said, I will govern according to the customs of the place; when he saw that succeeded not, then said he, I will govern by the Scripture; when he saw that succeeded not well, then said he, I will do what I can according to Scripture and law, and leave the success unto God; and then his government prospered. And you see how it is with a child, a father bids him do this or that which he knows he cannot do; therefore he secretly puts his own hand to the work, and he praises his child, and the child thinks that his hand did it. So here, God bids us do his work with all our might, and we do so, and have success in the work, and we think the success is the fruit of our hand, whereas in truth it is the fruit of our Father's hand. Mark therefore what follows in the next words to the text; in this verse, saith Solomon, "Whatever thou findest in thy hand to do, do it with all thy might;" but in the next verse he says, "I returned and saw, that the race is not to the swift, nor the battle to the strong." Why doth he add these words imme-

diately, but to shew thus much, that though we do God's work with all our might, yet we must not look upon the success as the fruit of our own hand. And thus now this doc- is cleared, proved, vindicated, and cautioned; and so I come to the application.

Now, by way of application, methinks this doctrine looks wishly upon all the congregation, for what man or woman is there amongst you, whom God hath not betrusted with some work or other? It is true, indeed, that he who had but one talent, wrapped it up in the napkin. Those are most apt to be idle that have least, yet every one hath some talent or other, some work or other, that every one hath in the power of his hand. Now, therefore, in the name of the Lord, I say unto you all, "Whatever thine hand findeth to do, do it with all thy might."

But how shall I be able to do the work which God hath put into my hand with all my might?

I answer, you must know what that work is which is in the power of your hand, else you cannot turn your hand to do it with all your might. Now,

Look what that work is which is *opus diei*, the work of the day, which can neither be done in heaven nor hell; that is now in the power of your hand to do. There is some work which we may do in this life, that can neither be done in heaven nor hell. Preaching and hearing the word cannot be done in heaven nor hell; repentance cannot be done in heaven nor hell; patience under affliction cannot be done in heaven nor hell; contributing to or helping the poor cannot be done in heaven nor hell. Now look what that work is that can neither be done in heaven nor hell, that is the work of your present day, and is in the power of your hand to do.

Look what that work is which is the work of your place, calling, or relation, that is the work which is in the power of your hand to do. As suppose you be a magistrate, it is the work of the christian magistrate to safe-guard and defend religion: "Be wise now, therefore, O ye princes and nobles, kiss the Son," Psalm ii. 1. It is the work of the magistrate to preserve the public peace, for he is the head of the community, and therefore must look to the welfare of the body. It is the work of the magistrate to dispense justice and righteousness, so as to encourage the good and be a terror to evil

doers. Rom. xiii. It is the work of the magistrate to assist the minister. By the hand of Moses and Aaron, God led his people of old; not by the hand of Moses alone, nor by the hand of Aaron alone, but by the hand of Moses and Aaron. It is the work of the magistrate to see that the poor be relieved and provided for. Psalm lxxii. Or suppose you be a minister, it is the work of the minister to walk before the people, as the *dux gregis*, before the rest of the flock, in all holy life and godly conversation. Conversation is continual preaching. It is the work of the minister to study the Scriptures much, for he hath more help that way than others. It is the work of the minister to preach the word plainly, powerfully and continually, both for conviction, conversion and edification. It is the work of the minister to separate between the precious and the vile in church administrations. It is the work of the minister to bind up the broken-hearted, to comfort the afflicted, to visit and pray over the sick: "Is any one sick, let him call for the elders of the church," James v. 15. Or suppose you be the governor of a family, father or master, or you be governed, a child or servant; it is the work of the governor to bring up his children or servants in the nurture and education of the Lord. It is the word of inferiors to be obedient to their parents or master. It is the work of children and those that are young to learn some trade and calling, that they may live like men and women another day, and do good to others. It is the work of those that are young to stock and store themselves with principles of religion. Luther, a great doctor in the church, professed that he was yet, *catechismi discipulus*. And what is the reason, saith Calvin, that men fall into errors when they are men, but because they did not learn the principles of religion when they were young? Or suppose you be one of this town or of these congregations, it is your work to pray for them that are over you in the Lord; it is your work to attend on the means of grace, to receive the gospel, and to improve your gospel opportunities. Have ye forgotten, O ye people of Yarmouth, how far ye would run and go formerly for a dishful of water; and now a spring and fountain of grace is opened amongst you, will ye not improve it? If a mine of gold or silver be opened in a country, will they not dig it out? Now through grace, there is a mine of gospel treasures opened amongst

you, and will ye not dig for it as for hidden treasure? This is your work; for look what that work is which is the work of your calling, place and relation, that is the work that is in the power of your hand to do.

Look what that work is, which is directly contrary to that sin wherein you have notoriously lived, or been guilty of; that is the work which God calls you to, and is in the power of your hand. I have read of a young man that was much given to scorning, jeering and despising of his mother; but after it pleased God to work savingly upon his heart, whenever he saw his mother come into the room, he would fall down upon his knees. I commend not his discretion. But if ye look into the New Testament, ye shall meet with three great converts, Zaccheus, the jailor, and Paul; and what did they do, but that work which was directly contrary to the sin which they were notoriously guilty of and given to? Zaccheus had been an oppressor, but being converted, "Behold, Lord, (said he,) the half of my goods I give to the poor, and if I have wronged any man I restore fourfold." The jailor whipped the apostles, and put them into the stocks in the inner prison; but when converted, then he brought them into his house, washed their stripes, and set meat before them. Paul was notorious for blaspheming, and persecuted the church; but when converted, then he preached the gospel, which before he persecuted. So that look what that work is, which is directly contrary to your notorious sin; that is the work that God calls you to, and which your hand should find to do.

Look what that work is which you are spared or raised up for, either from poverty or sickness; that is the work which is in the power of your hand now to do. There is a great controversy at this day, how God's pre-determination, and the liberty of man's will, can consist or stand together; the reconcilement whereof was committed to Francis de Arriva, which he shunning, fell into a great sickness, so dangerous, that the physicians gave him over for a dead man: but all of a sudden, in a day's time he revived, and was so well, that the physicians could not believe that he was well; but he recovering, thought that he was spared on purpose to undertake that work of reconcilement: which thereupon he did, and hath said as much in it as any other. And you know what

Mordecai said to Esther, "Who knows but God raised thee up on purpose," &c. Look therefore what that work is, which your former poverty or sickness points at, and for which you are thus raised up; that is the work that is in the power of your hand to do. Yea,

Look what that work is, that you have special ability and opportunity to do above others, that is the work that is in the power of your hand to do. As suppose you have a great estate in the world, and have no children, it is your work to relieve and help the poor. Therefore, says Solomon, "Thou shalt not withhold goods from the owners thereof, when it is in the power of thine hand to do it," Prov. iii. 27. Would ye, therefore, know what that work is, which is in the power of your hand? I answer in these several things. Look what that work is which is the work of your present day, which cannot be done in heaven nor hell; what work that is, that is the work of your place or relation; what work that is, that is directly opposite to your notorious sin; what work that is, which you are spared and raised up for; and what work that is, which you have an ability and opportunity to do above others. That and all these are the works which are in the power of your hand to do.

But, if you would do God's work with all your might, then you must observe where your true strength lies, and apply yourself thereunto. Now your strength lies in Christ, "the Lord our righteousness and our strength." Under Christ your strength lies in your call to your work. "Go in this thy might," said the Lord to Gideon, when he gave him a call. Under Christ your strength lies in the promise, for *lex jubet, gratia juvat;* the law commands, and the promise helps. Under Christ your strength lies in your comfort: he works faintly, that doth work uncomfortably. "The joy of the Lord is our strength." It is true in this sense; and under Christ your strength lies in dependance upon God for strength. Our strength is to sit still; that is, to depend and wait on God for his strength. Herein lies your true strength. Would you, therefore, do God's work with all your might, then away to your true strength.

And, if you would do God's work with all your might, then take heed that you do not think the way to heaven is easy, nor that any thing is small that lies between God and

you. *Difficultas acuit conatum;* Difficulty sharpens diligence. But if a man thinks a thing is easy, he will not put his full strength and might to the work. Gregory de Valentia tells of a merchant, that professed he would be a papist, and no protestant; for said he, If I be a papist, my work is short and easy; it is but believe as the church believes: but if I be a Lutheran, then I must learn catechisms, and search the Scriptures, but I have no time for that; therefore I will be a papist, for that way is easy. But we know that the way to heaven is up hill. *Nulla virtus sine lapide.* "Strait is the gate, and narrow is the way that leads to life." And the more ye see these difficulties of your salvation, the more you will put your whole strength to it, and will work with all your might.

Yet if you would do God's work with all your might, then let your eye be much upon them that have done God's work fully in their day. If you be a magistrate, think on Moses; if a minister, think on Paul; if a private person, think on Caleb. It is recorded of Luther, that he did ordinarily spend three hours every day in prayer; he preached much, read lectures, and wrote nine or ten great volumes in folio. It is recorded of Calvin, that he preached yearly two hundred and eighty sermons, and read one hundred and eighty lectures; every lecture being the length of a sermon. Once in a week he met with the elders of the church. Much in private duty and wrote letters to all the churches. So that the care of all the churches lay upon him; and wrote twelve great volumes in folio. Ye have seen the three volumes of Mr. Perkins in folio, all which he wrote with his left hand, for his right hand was naturally lame: his motto was, *Hoc age;* as if he had said, What thou doest, do with thy might. Dr. Sibbs his emblem, was a candle burning with these words over it, *Per lucendo pereo;* By giving light to others I consume myself. And ye have heard of that good old man Mr. Dod, who went up and down doing good, and preaching all the day long: when his friends observed that he was spent, and desired him to spare himself, his usual saying was, Hear this one thing more, it may be I shall never speak to you again; and so he went on and continued till he was eighty six; and so died in his full strength of goodness. Now when I consider these men, I confess before you all, that I am ashamed

And if men would but seriously consider these and such like examples of men that have done much for God in their day; they would certainly be provoked to do God's work with all their might.

Yet if you would do God's work with all your might; then converse much with the greatness of God. Who can stand in the beams of the sun, and not shine with the beams thereof? Much less shall you stand in the beams of God's attributes, and not shine therewith. The sight of God's greatness will *grandire*, greaten your hearts and spirits, and make them do much and great things for God. Therefore converse much with the greatness of God. But,

Be sure that you lay in against reproaches. For when you ride apace, the dogs will bark, and the dust will be raised: if you go easily, you raise no dust, neither will the dogs bark. So if you will go a slow pace to heaven, you shall not be reviled, or reproached by the world: but if you will not put on with all your might, then you shall be reproached. Therefore if you will do God's work with all your might, you must be well laid in against all reproaches, because it is the work of your hand.

Again if you would do it with all your might, then you must go to God to open your hand; and when he shall open your hand, and breathe upon your soul, be sure that you improve all those gales. For Job tells us, "That he sealeth up the hand of every man, that all men may know his work." Sometimes he seals up the hand of the seamen, that they cannot sail; sometimes he sealeth up the hand of the husbandmen, that they cannot sow nor reap: sometimes he sealeth up the hand of the merchant and tradesman, that he cannot vend his commodity; sometimes the hand of the preacher, that he cannot preach; sometimes the hand of the christian, that he cannot pray. And why doth he thus seal up the hand of every man, but that all may know his work? Would ye therefore do the work of your hand with all your might, then go to God to open and unseal your hand; and if he breathe upon your heart, then be sure that you improve these gales.

Do ye therefore now ask, What shall I do, that I may do the work of God with all my might. Then remember these several things.

You must know what that work is which is in the power of your hand.

You must observe where your true strength lies, and apply yourself thereto.

You must not think the way to heaven easy, or any thing small that is between God and you.

You must eye them much who have served God fully in their day.

You must converse much with the greatness of God.

You must be well laid in against all reproaches.

And then you must go to God to open and unseal your hand, improving all his gales. Now give me leave to lay some three or four motives before you that may persuade hereunto, and I shall wind up all.

The first motive is this, Look whatever work that is which is in the power of your hand to do, that God will require at your hand. If you be a magistrate, and it be your work to preserve peace, to suppress the multitude of ale-houses, and profanation of the Lord's day, then God will require this at your hand. If you be a minister, and it be your work to "preach the gospel in season and out of season;" then God will require this work at your hand. If you be a parent, and it be your work to bring up your children in the nurture and education of the Lord; if you be a child or young person, and it be your work to stock yourself with principles of religion; then God will require these works at your hands. And if you be one of this town, and of this congregation, and it be your work to receive the gospel, and to improve your day of grace; then God will require this work at your hand. Remember the parable of the talents, &c. If God will require the work of our hands at our hands; why shall we not do that work with all our might? But

As God will call you to an account for all that work which is in the power of your hand: so you do not know how soon he may take your work out of your hands; how soon he may take you from your work, or your work from you. We ordinarily think that we shall not die before our work be done: but if you look wishly upon God's dispensations, you shall find that death doth sometimes press men from their shop-board, when much work is cut out before them. You all know what an useful man good king Josiah was as a magistrate, yet he died in the midst of his work, when he was but thirty-nine years old. Ye know what an useful man

John the Baptist was; yet he died in the midst of his days, when not above thirty three years old. Is it not known to some what a great workman Dr. Whitaker was here in England, of whom it was said, That he never was less idle, than when idle; yet he died in the midst of his work when he was but forty-four years old. It is ordinarily known what a blessed instrument Mr. Perkins was, of whom the preacher said at his funeral, Here lies that blessed Perkins, who first taught England for to worship God: yet he died in the midst of his work, when he was but forty-seven years old. And who hath not heard of Dr. Preston, what a great workman he was in God's vineyard, of whom I may say, Who though dead, yet speaketh, in his precious books that are amongst you; yet he died in the midst of his work when he was but forty-one years old. I might instance in Mr. Burroughs, and others; yea, in divers good christians in this place, who have died in the midst of their work and time. It was not long since a preacher now in heaven preached on this text at the Guild at Norwich at the installment of the mayor; and before the year came about, the mayor died. So that death doth sometimes press us from our shop-board before our work be made up. And I pray mind the text a little, "Whatever is in the power of thine hand to do, do it with all thy might:" for, says Solomon, "In the grave there is no work nor device, whither thou goest." He doth not say, whither thou shalt go, or whither thou must go, but "whither thou goest." You go sometimes to church, and sometimes not; you go sometimes to sea, and sometimes not; you go sometimes into the country, and sometimes not: but whether you go to the church, or whether you go to sea, or whether you go into the country, still thou goest to the grave. And ye know what Christ saith, "The night cometh wherein no man worketh." Now if the night cometh, and thou goest; then why should you not do your work with all your might whilst it is day. Certainly he that plays away his day shall go to bed in the dark.

Who is there in all this congregation, that doth not desire a comfortable death-bed when it comes. As the heathen man said to a great congregation, I know all your thoughts; for every man desires to buy cheap, and to sell dear; so in

this respect, I may say, I know all your thoughts, viz., that when death comes, you may have a comfortable death-bed. In the time of your death-bed sickness, you will then be able to do little; when your pains shall be great, you will be able to pray little, to hear little, to read or meditate little, and then what will be your comfort in that death-bed-little but this? Well, though I can do but little now, yet I have prayed and served God with all my might when I was well, and therefore I have comfort now. Now therefore if you desire that you may have much comfort in your death-bed-little, why should you not do the present work of your hand with all your might? But,

In the last place, Who is there in all this congregation that doth not desire to rejoice with all his heart in these blessings which he hath in his hand; now look once more upon the words of the text, and ye shall find, that as Solomon in God's name commands you "to rejoice with all your heart in the blessings which you have," ver. 7—9, so in these words he commands you to do God's work with all your might. And why are these things thus knit together, but to teach us thus much, that whoever will do with all his might the work that is in his hand to do, he may and shall rejoice with all his heart in the blessings which he hath in his hand to enjoy? But above all ye know how fully Christ did your work for you, and will you do his work by halves? Never speak of rest here, there is rest enough in the grave, and recompence enough in heaven. Either the work that is in your hand is worth your while, or it is not; if it be not worth your while, why should you do it at all; and if it be worth your while, why should you not do it with all your might? And oh, that there were an heart in you all to do so. If the weight of this truth have fallen in power upon your souls, I dare say, some of you will go away and say, What have I done all this while? I confess I have done God's work by the bye, and when I heard ministers pressing such truths as these, I have said, Well, yet I hope I may go to heaven with less ado, but now through grace I will go away, and whatever is in the power of my hand to do, I will do it with all my might. Thus do, and I shall obtain the end of my preaching, and you, under Christ, shall obtain the end of your

practice, the salvation of your souls. Wherefore think on all these things and the Lord bless them to you.

SERMON VII.

SOUL-RESIGNATION INTO THE HANDS OF GOD.

"*Father, into thy hands I commend my spirit,*" LUKE xxiii. 46.

THESE are the last words of Christ on the cross, the seventh speech; and of all others the most exemplary for us. "Into thy hands," that is, into thy charge, care, and tuition. God hath no hands at all, for he is a Spirit; but by his hands we are to understand his keeping, charge, and custody. Numb. xxxiii. 1, it is said, "The children of Israel went forth out of Egypt with their armies under the hand of Moses and Aaron;" that is, under the charge of Moses and Aaron; so the translators do interpret it. For whereas, chap. xxxi. 49, it is said by the officers of the army, "Thy servants have taken the sum of the men that were under our charge;" the margin tells you that in the Hebrew it is, "under our hand." So Ps. xci. 11, 12, "He shall give his angels charge over thee, and they shall bear thee up in their hands." By the hands of God therefore, understand his keeping and tuition; Father, into thy keeping and tuition I do commend my spirit; the word is, παρατίθεμαι, I will commend; but our Saviour follows the Septuagint, and the Septuagint the Hebrew of Ps. xxxi., whence these words are taken. And it is ordinary with the Hebrew to put the future for the present time. I will, or I do commend my spirit, that is, my soul, myself, but especially my soul; the thing commended was his soul; the person to whom he did commend his soul, was his Father; the time when he commended his soul, was at the instant of his death, for having said so, he gave up the ghost. Now if ye ask why Christ did at this time especially commend and resign himself and soul up to God? I answer, For these reasons.

Thereby he testified that he had not lost his confidence in God as a Father; in the former words he had cried out and said, "My God, my God, why hast thou forsaken me?"

Men might think if he had so died, that he had quite lost his confidence; but now that he concludes all with this, it shews that God had not forsaken him, and that he had not lost his confidence in God. Possibly a dying christian may be in an agony at the beginning of his sickness, yet may sweetly believe at the last. In the former part of his death, Christ was in an agony, but he closes up all with full assurance of faith: "Father, into thy hands I commend my spirit."

Thereby also he did commend the souls of all those that he died for, into the hands of God: for he was now offering up himself through the eternal Spirit unto God for us, as our common person; and as in his prayer, John xvii., he did not only pray for himself, but for us, so in this act and deed he did commend the souls and spirits of all those that he died for, into the hands of God: and as he died in our room and stead, so in our room he said, "Father, into thy hands I commend my spirit." And when should he do this more fitly, than at the last of his suffering?

Thereby also he became an example unto us; that when we come to die or suffer, we should die with the Scripture in our hearts and mouths, for this was Scripture, as ye read Ps. xxxi. 5. And that we should suffer and die believing and resigning up ourselves and souls into the hand of God as a Father. And for this end certainly Christ did now speak these words, for says he, "I have power to lay down my life, and to take it up again;" and if he had power to take it up again, why did he resign it into the hands of God, as a *depositum* to be kept for him? Surely for this reason, that in all this matter he might be an example unto us of soul-resignation into the hands of God. And so the doctrine is this:

It is a good thing for us to resign up our souls into the hands of God, and that especially at the time of our death and greatest sufferings; what Christ did, and did as our example, that is good for us to do: this hath Christ done before us; good therefore it is for us to do it, good at all times, especially at some times, and most especially at the time of our death and sufferings.

It is God's due, and it is our duty; for what is resignation of our souls or selves unto God, but that act of faith, whereby we do put ourselves under the power, wisdom, and mercy of God, to be ordered and disposed of according to the good

will of God? This is our duty, and it is God's due. Is it not the duty of an inferior to resign up himself and his will to the hands and will of his superior? Doth not the wife resign up her will to the will of her husband; the servant to the will of his master; the child to the will of his father; and is not God much more our superior; is not he our Husband, our Lord, our Father in most transcendent manner? Surely then, this soul-resignation is both God's due, and it is our duty.

Yea, and it is a very profitable thing for us to do it, hereby we make a virtue of necessity; and where can we lodge our souls in safer hands? If a man cannot keep a thing himself, but must betrust and deposit it in other hands, will he not do it in the safest hands that he can find? Now three things there are that are required to a safe hand: power, wisdom, and love. If I deposit a thing in a man's hand to keep, he must be able to keep it for me against violence, else his hand is no safe hand; though he be able and have power to keep it for me, yet if he be prodigal and lavish, and not wise, I shall not count his hand a safe hand to keep my *depositum*; but though he be never so wise, yet if he be not my friend, I shall not betrust him with any great matter: but if a man be able, wise and friendly, then his hand is a safe hand to keep my *depositum*. Now God is all this, almighty, infinitely, wise, and our best friend and acquaintance? Wherefore, says the apostle, "I know whom I have trusted, and I am persuaded that he is able that which I have committed to him, against that day," 2 Tim. 1. 12. As if he said, Do ye blame me for venturing so much in the cause of the gospel? Why I have but deposited what I laid out for God, and am persuaded that he will not embezzle my trust; but will truly and faithfully keep it for me: for he is able, and I have experience of him: for I know whom I have trusted, he is no stranger to me, and I am perswaded that he will keep it for me unto that day. God's hand then is the safest hand.

And again if we do not commend, commit, and resign ourselves and souls into his hands, we must be responsible for them ourselves. If a woman have a child put to nurse to her, and she go abroad, and do not commit the child to some safe hands, and the child come to any hurt, she must be responsible for it. If we commit our souls into God's hands, he

will be responsible for them. "Who will keep that which I have committed to him unto that day," says Paul: but if we do not commit our souls into his hands to keep, and they get any hurt, we must be responsible for them ourselves. And are we able to answer for our own souls? Surely, no. Oh, what a good thing is it then to resign and commit our souls unto God.

What benefit shall we get thereby? Much every way. This resignation of our souls and selves unto God, is an inlet to many mercies, graces, and comforts.

As for mercies and blessings; what greater blessing can there be in this world, than to enjoy one's-self; under God to enjoy one's-self, and to be free from all things? Paul counted it a blessing to have the comforts of this world, and to be under the power of none, but to stand free from all; now there is no such way in the world, to stand free from all things, as to resign up ourselves, souls and wills unto God. *Hæc est vera libertas servire Deo,* True liberty doth consist in perfect subjection to God; who more free than Christ, yet who more subject to the will of God then Christ? "Not my will, but thy will be done:" no such way to enjoy one's-self, as to give up ourselves unto God. Doth not the beggar enjoy herself most in giving up herself to a prince in marriage?

Yea, what greater blessing is there in the world, or in the world to come, than to enjoy God? Now if you do resign and give up yourself unto God, you shall enjoy God, for God will give down himself unto you. It is observed, that God the Father never gave down that great dispensation of the Spirit unto Christ, till Christ had thus resigned up his spirit unto the Father. Look what we do give up to God, that God will give down to us in a better edition; yea, he will not only give ourselves to ourselves, if we resign ourselves unto him; but if you resign and give up yourself unto him, he will give down himself unto you; if you resign up your spirit unto him, he will give down his Spirit unto him. Thus this soul-resignation is an inlet to this mercy.

Yet you will all say, it is a great mercy and blessing to have your prayers and desires granted; then read what the Psalmist saith, Psalm xxxvii. 4, "Delight thyself also in the Lord, and he shall give thee the desires of thine heart. Commit thy way to the Lord, trust also in him, and he will bring it

to pass." Dost thou say, I pray and use endeavours; yet the thing prayed for, endeavoured after, doth not come to pass? Why, then commit thy way to the Lord; resign up thy way unto God, and he will bring it to pass. I remember a notable story that Thaulerus hath; this Thaulerus lived in the beginning of the German reformation, a little before Luther, whom Luther seems to prize above all authors; *Da mihi istum insignem Theologum Thaulerum*, said he, Give me that eminent author Thaulerus. Now this Thaulerus tells us of a certain woman, that was much given to prayer, and had so great credit in heaven, that she did but ask and had from the hands of God; insomuch, said he, that divers came to her to pray for them, according to their necessities, whom she promised to pray for; yet sometimes did forget to pray for them: yet, says Thaulerus, the things which her friends did desire were given to them; and coming to her to thank her for her prayers; Nay, truly, said she, I am ashamed and blush before you, for if you have received the mercy, it is no thanks to me, for I forgot you. And thereupon going unto God in prayer, she begged this of God, that he would please to tell her the reason why the mercies desired were given, though she did not pray for them? Whereupon she received this answer from God, says Thaulerus,* Hear O my daughter, from the day that thou didst resign thy will up to me, I did give my will to thee. And the truth is, there is no such way to obtain what we would, as to resign up our wills unto God. Thus this soul or self-resignation is an inlet unto many mercies.

As it is an inlet unto many blessings: so it is an inlet unto many graces and duties. What grace or duty will ye instance in? Will ye instance in prayer?

It opens the sluices of prayer; and, as one speaks well, though you pray never so long or loud, yet if you do not resign up your soul and will unto God, your prayer is but nonsense, and a contradiction *in re*.

Or will ye instance in Faith? faith is a trusting unto God; now the more you betrust God with yourself, the more you trust to God. And what greater betrustment, than the resignation of ones-soul unto God?

* Audi filia mea, ex quo die tuam mihi resignasti voluntatem, ego viciesim dedi tibi meam.—Thaulerus.

Thereby you shall be contented with your condition whatever it be, with the best contentment: for there is a two-fold contentment. One, that arises from the fulness of your enjoyment; another, that arises from the apprehension of the wise carving hand of God. This last is best, and the most refined. Now if you can but truly resign yourself and will unto God, you will be thus contented.

Thereby also you will rejoice in God, and mourn for sin at once; some mourn for sin, and neglect joy in God; some joy in God, and neglect grief for sin. But if I can truly resign myself unto God, I shall grieve for sin, and rejoice in God together.

Yea, thereby also you will be able to answer unto your temptations, especially that great temptation that lies so hard upon some. You are now in a good condition; but suppose it were so and so with you, what would you do then? why, if ye have resigned yourself unto God, you will be able to say, I do not know what may befal me, but I am sure nothing shall come amiss, for I have resigned myself and my will unto God. Thus this holy resignation is, ye see, an inlet to many graces and duties.

As it is an inlet unto many graces, so it is an inlet also unto many comforts; yea indeed, unto all our comforts: for what comfort can a man have in himself or condition, till he hath truly resigned and given up himself and soul and will unto God? but being done, ye may freely go about your business. If a man have a suit in law, and have left his cause in the hand of an able, careful friend and lawyer, he is quiet: much more may we be quiet, when we have left and lodged our case and way and soul with God. "Commit thy works unto the Lord, and thy thoughts shall be established," Prov. xvi. 3. Not thy business and works, but thy thoughts shall be then at rest. Do not all things rest in their centre; and is not God our centre? The more indifferently that a man's heart is carried out towards changes, the more quiet and sedate is his spirit. Now when a man hath resigned himself up to God, then he will be more indifferent unto all conditions. The private soldier doth march indifferently, this way or that way, at the command of his leader; why? because he hath resigned up himself to the wisdom of his commander. The sheep is indifferently led into this pasture,

or the other; why? because resigned up to the will of the shepherd. So if our souls be truly resigned up to God, we shall be indifferently carried to this or that pasture: for we are the sheep of Christ. I remember a notable speech that Luther had to Melancthon: Melancthon being much troubled about the affairs of the churches, and the low estate of the same, Luther wrote a letter to him; and in that letter he hath this expression; Thou art much troubled and afflicted, O Melancthon; yet Philip is to be admonished and desired to leave governing the world:* as if he had said, Philip, thou undertakest to govern the world, therefore thou art thus dejected; do but leave the cause to God, and let him govern, and thou wilt be quiet and not troubled. The only way therefore to be quiet within, is to resign and give up all unto God. This self or soul resignation is an inlet unto many mercies, an inlet unto many graces, an inlet unto many comforts; surely therefore it is a good and an excellent thing to resign and give up ourselves unto God.

Well, but then how is this work to be done that we may truly resign and give up ourselves, our souls, and our wills unto God?

It is not to be done slightly and overly, but seriously and solemnly. It is an ordinary thing with men to say, "The will of the Lord be done." God's will be done, and the like. But it is one thing for a man to be indifferent in a business, saying, The will of the Lord be done; and another thing for a man to give up himself and will effectually unto God. It is one thing for a man to do this in a slighty and general way, saying, The will of the Lord be done; and another thing to make a distinct and clear resignation of his will to the will of God in particular things. Look into Scripture, and ye shall find, that wherever this work was done truly, it was done solemnly and seriously.

As this work is not to be done slightly and overly; so neither is it to be done forcedly and lastly, but freely and firstly. The first thing I do, I must commit myself, and cause, and will unto God. If a city or town be besieged, it yields and resigns at the last, because it can hold out no longer; but this resignation is a forced work; the resignation of ourselves

* Sed monendus est Philippus, ut desinat gubernare mundum.

and wills unto God is not such. When Pharaoh could stand out no longer, then he resigned up the Israelites: and so when men can hold out no longer, then they say, Well, it is the will of God that this thing should be; wherefore now, the will of the Lord be done. When they can do no other, then they resign up the thing and themselves unto God. But this true resignation is done freely and firstly, not forcedly and at last.

As it is not to be done lastly and forcedly, so it is not to be done partially, and by halves, but fully and totally. "I am thine," saith David to God, "Oh, save me," Ps. cxix. 94. When a man comes to God for mercy, he pleads not for part but all. He doth not say, Oh save my body, and not my soul; but "Oh, save me:" nor doth he say, Oh, save my soul, and not my body; but, "I am thine, oh, save me." When a man desires pardon of sin, he desires not the pardon of some, but of all. When God gives himself unto us, he gives himself wholly. This resignation of ourselves unto God, is a great sacrifice, a great offering, and it must be of all, an holocaust. God cannot, will not take less than all. He that resigns himself unto God, with a reservation of a part, doth like Ananias and Sapphira; he pretends the whole, and gives but part, and so he doth lie unto God.

As this resignation must not be done partially, and by halves, so it must not be done conditionally, but absolutely. When you have taken a servant, and you bid him do this or that, it may be he will say to you, It was none of my bargain; I bargained with you for to be your steward, but not to be your groom in your stable; or, I bargained with you to be your clerk, but not to be your scullion; this or that work which you set me about, is not according to my conditions. And so when a city besieged doth resign, it doth resign upon articles; but when a soul doth truly resign itself unto God, then no articles, no conditions. "Lord, what wilt thou have me to do?" says Paul, oh any thing, Lord, any thing: I will return to my father's house, "and let him make me his hired servant." Do but receive me, Lord, and I will not article with thee; it is a resignation without articles. The covenant of grace, whereby God doth give himself to us, is absolute, and not conditional; so is that covenant, whereby we do resign and give up ourselves unto him. Abraham

subscribed to a blank; so must all the children of Abraham do.

As this resignation is not to be done conditionally; so it is not to be done passively, and in a way of submission only, but actively. It is one thing for a man to submit unto God's will, and another thing to resign up himself and will to the will of God. A man is properly said to submit, when he quietly yields unto what is done. A man is said to resign up himself and will unto God, when he doth quietly yield over his affections to the thing done as best, because God wills it. For example, I meet a thief on the way, and he takes my purse; I submit because I cannot help myself, but I do not resign up my will to his will: I resign up my money into his hand, but not my will unto his will, nor my affections and judgment to the thing done; judging that good which is done. But when a man doth truly resign up himself unto God, he resigns up his thoughts and judgment to the wisdom of God; it is not a bare submission unto what is done.

As this resignation is not to be done passively, so it is not to be done deceitfully and feignedly, but in all plainness and sincerity. We read of the enemies of the Lord, that they shall submit feignedly unto him; "Strangers shall submit themselves to me," Ps. xviii. 44. The margin hath it, they shall yield feigned obedience, but the Hebrew is, They shall lie unto me. "Through the greatness of thy power thine enemies shall submit themselves to thee," Ps. lxvi. 3; margin, shall yield feigned obedience; Hebrew, shall lie unto thee. There is a feigned obedience, a feigned yielding, a lying resignation and submission unto God. The people of the Jews come to Jeremiah to go unto God for them, and they say, "The Lord be a true and faithful witness between us, if we do not even according to all things for the which the Lord thy God shall send thee to us; whether it be good, or whether it be evil," &c. Jer. xlii. 5. Wherefore Jeremiah did intreat the Lord for them, but they would not do what they said; whereupon said Jeremiah, "Ye dissembled in your hearts, when ye said, We will do according to all that the Lord our God shall say," verse 20. So that there is a lying submission, whereby men in affliction and distress, do feignedly submit and resign themselves up to God. Possibly a

man may hear that the only way to have his will is to resign up his will unto God. Now that he may have his will he will resign it up unto God: this is but to serve himself of God. But where this work is truly done, it is done with the greatest plainness of heart, and the most sincerity.

As this work is not to be done feignedly, so it is not to be done sinfully, but in well-doing. Some say, "The will of the Lord be done;" and they say they do resign and give up themselves unto God; but if ye look into 1 Pet. 4. 19. he will tell you, that this work is to be performed in well-doing: "Let him commit his soul to God in well-doing, as unto a faithful Creator." And thus ye see how this work is to be done rightly.

It is to be done solemnly, and not slightly; freely and firstly, not forcedly and lastly; wholly and totally, and not partially and by halves; absolutely, and not conditionally, upon articles; actively, and not in a way of submission only; with much plainness and sincerity; and in well-doing.

Well, but when is this work to be done?

It is to be done daily. Once done, and yet ever doing. But there are some times wherein this work is to be done especially, but most especially at our death.

I say, this work is to be done daily. Sometimes a man is to resign up his will unto God, in reference to his health; sometimes in reference to his outward estate; sometimes in reference to his relations; sometimes in reference to his spiritual condition. But as the Psalmist speaks, "Trust in the Lord at all times;" so I say, we are to resign up selves and souls and will to God at all times.

There are some special times and seasons which do call for this work. I will name five.

When a man doth convert and turn unto God. Then he is in a special manner to resign and give up himself unto God. "What wilt thou have me do?" said Paul at his first conversion. The priests that offered sacrifices unto God, were first offered themselves. After conversion we daily offer our sacrifices to God: at the first, therefore, we are to offer up ourselves unto him.

When a man is called forth unto any great work, or service, or employment, especially if it be beyond his own strength

and power, then he is to resign and give up himself unto God: so Moses did, so David did, so all the worthies of God have ever done, when they have been called out to any great employments.

When a man is in any great danger, distress, and affliction, then he is to resign and give up himself and will unto God. "If the Lord have any pleasure in me (says David) he will bring me back again; yet if not, his will be done." So Joab when he saw that enemies were round about him; "Let us fight, (says he,) for the cities of our God, &c. and the will of the Lord be done."

When a man doth join himself unto the Lord and his people, then he is especially to resign and give up himself unto God. So the churches of Macedonia did; for says Paul, 2 Cor. viii. 5. "And this they did, not as we hoped, but first gave their own selves to the Lord, and unto us by the will of God."

When a man hath sinned greatly, and wandered from the Lord, and from his holy profession, and doth return again unto God, then he is in a special manner to resign and give up himself unto God. The same thing is to be done in our renewed as in our first conversion. And if ye look into 2 Chron. xxx. ye shall find, that when all Israel had gone astray, Hezekiah exhorting them to return unto the Lord, he saith, verse 8. "Now be ye not stiffnecked as your fathers were, but yield yourselves unto the Lord:" Margin, give you your hand unto God. When we have stolen any thing from God, it is our duty to restore it. Have we therefore in our first conversion given ourselves unto God, and afterward by our sins taken them away again? Whenever we do return unto God, then it is our duty to restore, and so to resign up ourselves unto him. And thus now ye see what those special times and seasons are which call for this work at our hands. The time of conversion calls for it; the time of special employment calls for it; the time of great danger calls for it; the time of joining to the Lord and his people calls for it; and the times of our returns unto God after wanderings call for it.

But though we are to resign ourselves unto God in such times as these are especially, yet most especially we are to do it when we come to suffer; for then God is ready to re-

ceive us, Exod. xix. 4. Then men are ready to destroy us "The poor committeth himself to thee:" Ps. x. 14. When we come to die, for then did Christ do it especially. Then the soul is to return unto him that gave it. It doth not die or sleep with the body in the grave, but it returns unto him that gave it. "This day shalt thou be with me in paradise," saith Christ. And the apostle tells us, that paradise is the third heavens and the place of glory. Paul saith, "I desire to be dissolved, and to be with Christ, which is best of all." 2 Cor. xii. How can a man be said to be with Christ presently upon his death, if the soul dies and sleeps with the body? Yea, says he, "I am in a strait;" in respect to you, I desire to live: in respect of myself, I desire to die. But if the soul sleeps and dies with the body, why should not he desire to live in regard of himself? When the man dies, then the soul and spirit returneth to him that gave it. When a man therefore dies, it is fit to resign and give up his soul unto God.

When a man dies, then, if his soul goes to heaven, it is to pass through the enemy's country; for Satan is "the prince of the air." The air is full of devils; the soul therefore hath need of a good convoy to pass through the enemy's country. And how should a man get this convoy, but by resigning and giving up his soul into the hands of God.

When a man dies, then he launches forth into the ocean of eternity; and as God is the disposer of our times for the present, so of our eternity also. Fit it is that we should acknowledge his sovereignty over us, in reference to our eternity: and therefore when a man comes to die, he is in a special manner to resign and give up himself unto God, to be laid out and disposed of to all eternity.

And when a man comes to die, then there is a great parting between the soul and the body; then I part with that which is most dear to me. Now when a man parts with his children, or those things that are dear to him, he will put them into the safest hands that he can; but when we come to die, then is the great parting time. And therefore, then and then especially we are to resign and give up ourselves and our souls unto God. Thus Christ did; "Father, into thy hands I commend my spirit."

Well, but how and by what means shall I be able to resign

and give up myself and soul unto God when I die, so as I may receive this *depositum* again to my comfort?

It is good for us to inquire into this matter; we know not how soon we may be called to this dying work. If the candle be newly lighted it may easily be put out, and if it have burned long it will easily go out. It was the desire of Dionysius, that Christ's last word on the cross might be the last word of his life.* Do you, therefore, desire to close up your life with this gracious resignation according to Christ's example? Then,

Be sure that you do not give away your soul from God to any thing else whilst you live. If you have given away your soul unto other things whilst you live, it will be a vain thing for you to say Christ's words when you come to die. When men come to their death, ye know they do ordinarily make their wills; and in the first place they say, I give my soul unto God; then if they have lands, or houses, or money, they give them to their wives, children, relations and friends, according to their pleasure. But suppose, now, that a man shall give land or house to such or such a child or friend, which he hath sold or given away before, shall his will stand in force? Will not all men say, This he could not give away, for he had sold that or given that before? So in regard of one's soul; though upon my death I say, As for my soul, I give that to God; yet if I have sold away my soul before, for unjust gain, or have given away my soul before unto filthy pleasures, how can I resign and give that to God when I die; will not the Lord say, Nay, this is none of your's to give, this you had sold or given away before? Oh, then, be sure of this, that whilst you live, you do not sell or give away your soul from God, for then death-bed resignation will be but as the act and deed of a man that makes his will when he is not *compos mentis*.

If you would so resign your soul unto God when you die, that you may receive this *depositum* again with comfort; then be sure that you make God your friend whilst you live, else what repose can you put on him when you die. Who doth trust a jewel in the hands of a stranger or enemy? We read, Judges x. 14, when the children of Israel had forsaken the

* Domine, fac ut ultimum tuum verbum in cruce, sit etiam ultimum meum verbum in hoc luce.—Gerard. ex Dionys. Harm. cap. xvii.

Lord, and served other gods, that when they cried to the Lord to save them out of the hands of their enemies, the Lord said unto them, " Go and cry unto the gods which ye have chosen, and let them save you in the time of your tribulation." So will the Lord say to us, if in the time of our health we follow after our pleasures and profits and our old sins, " Go and cry to the gods whom ye have served;" go and repose your souls in their hands, and let them help you now if they can. No man will repose or commit that which he prizeth into the hands of a stranger or enemy. Oh, then, whilst we have our health and life let us make God our friend.

And not only so, but get an assurance that God is your friend and Father: though God be our friend, if we do not know it, how shall we commit our souls to him when we die. Paul said, " I know whom I have trusted, that he is able to keep that which I have committed to him unto that day." It is an hard thing for a doubting heart that cannot say, Father, distinctly, to resign as Christ did. Why then should you live upon hopes mingled with uncertainties; is it not yet time to get your assurance? Oh, labour more and more to attain to these rises of assurance; for the more assurance you have when you come to die, the more easily and truly you will say, " Father, into thy hands I commend my spirit."

And if you would resign up your soul unto the hands of God, so as you may receive that *depositum* again with comfort; then observe what that *depositum* is which God doth now trust you with, and be you faithful in the keeping thereof. When Christ went away, he left us a *depositum*, he did leave and deposit some of his things in our hands; his truths, his ordinances, his talents; and if I do not keep his trust, his truths, his ordinances, his talents, how can I expect that he should keep my soul for me? Mark how these go together. " I know whom I have trusted," says Paul, " and I am persuaded he is able to keep that which I have committed to him," 2 Tim. i. 12. Then ver. 14, " That good thing which was committed unto thee, keep." As if he should say, As we desire that he should keep our trust, so we must keep his trust. Some things the Lord hath committed to us; some things we commit to him. Now, therefore, as you do desire that he may keep your souls for you,

so do you keep his truths, his ordinances, and whatever he hath committed unto you.

And if you would be able to do this work of soul-resignation in the day of your death rightly, then use yourself to do it every day. That is easily done which is often done. And if you look upon the example of Christ, ye shall find, that as soon as he drew near to the cross, the first thing he did was to resign up his will unto God, being in his agony in the garden. "If it be possible (saith he) let this cup pass; yet not my will, but thy will be done." And the last thing he did, was to resign up his soul unto God. This affliction was begun and ended with holy resignation. It is begun with a resignation of his will, it is ended with a resignation of his soul. So should all our afflictions be begun and ended with self-resignation; and if I can but begin my affliction with the resignation of my will unto the will of God, I shall end the affliction with the resignation of my soul into the hands of God. And the more frequently I do it whilst I live, the more easily I shall do it when I die, and say in truth with Christ, "Father, into thy hands I commend my spirit."

Study the sovereignty of God. The more your heart is possessed with God's sovereignty, the more resignation. "It is the Lord," said Eli, "let him do what seemeth good," 1 Sam. iii. 18. And, "Good is the word of the Lord," said Hezekiah, 2 Kings xx. 19.

Then behold this example of Christ, being before you: "Whom beholding," &c. The sight of a resigning Christ, will make you resign and say, "Father, into thy hands I commend my spirit."

And thus now I have done with this last speech of Christ on the cross. The words of dying friends are precious, and we remember them. Now ye have heard this living saying of a dying Christ. You that are the friends of Christ will remember them; and the Lord teach us so to remember them, that thereby we may learn both to live and to die, both to do and to suffer.

SERMON VIII.

THE DIGNITY AND DUTY OF GOD'S CALLED ONES.

"That you would walk worthy of God, who hath called you to his kingdom and glory."—1 THESS. II. 12.

IN this chapter you have a relation of the apostle Paul's entrance unto the Thessalonians, how they received him, and how he preached to them. "For yourselves, brethren, know our entrance in unto you, that it was not in vain: but even after that we had suffered before, and were shamefully intreated, as ye know, at Philippi, we were bold in our God to speak unto you the gospel of God with much contention," ver. 1, 2. It was with much sincerity that he preached: "Our exhortation was not of deceit, nor of uncleanness, nor in guile," ver. 3. In opposition to worldly interests: "Not as pleasing men, but God which trieth our hearts. For neither at any time used we flattering words, nor a cloke of covetousness; nor of men sought we glory, neither of you, nor yet of others, when we might have been burdensome as the apostles of Christ," ver. 4, 5, 6. It was with all gentleness and love: "We were gentle among you, even as a nurse cherisheth her children: being affectionately desirous of you, we were willing to have imparted unto you, not the gospel of God only, but also our own souls, because ye were dear unto us," ver. 7, 8. It was with much industry and labour: "Labouring night and day, because we would not be chargeable to any of you, we preached unto you the gospel of God," ver. 9. It was with all holiness of conversation: "Ye are witnesses, and God also, how holily, and justly, and unblameably we behaved ourselves among you that believe," ver. 10. With all manner of exhortation: "As ye know how we exhorted, and comforted, and charged every one of you, as a father doth his children, that you would walk worthy of God," ver. 11. So here then you have the matter exhorted to, and the motive pressing thereto: "Who hath called you to his kingdom and glory." Or, here you have,

The person calling: "God."

The dignity called unto: "Who hath called you to his kingdom and glory."

The duty that flows from thence: "That you would walk

worthy of God, who hath called you to his kingdom and glory."

Hence observe, That it is the duty of all who are called to God's kingdom and glory, to walk worthy of the kingdom and glory of God. I shall therefore shew you,

First, What this vocation or calling is; and that there is that in it, that may and should provoke us to walk worthy of God.

Secondly, That when God brings home any man to himself, he doth it in a way of calling; and why so?

Thirdly. That it is the duty of all that are called, to walk worthy of God.

Fourthly, How a man shall know that he is truly called.

Fifthly, What we should do, that we may walk worthy of God who hath called us.

First, This vocation is an act of God's grace and mercy, whereby we are invited to the great supper of the gospel, to communion and fellowship with Christ. As it is an act of God's grace and mercy, so it is opposed to works. "For the children being yet unborn, neither having done good or evil, that the purpose of God according to election might stand, not of works, but of him that calleth," Rom. ix. 11. Calling is opposite to works. So 2 Tim. i. 9, "Who hath saved us and called us with an holy calling; not according to our works, but according to his own purpose and grace," &c. Vocation is an act of God's grace wholly.

Men are invited to the great supper of the gospel; that is, to fellowship and communion with Christ. "God is faithful, by whom you were called unto the fellowship of his Son, Jesus Christ our Lord," 1 Cor. i. 9.

If you look unto the persons that are invited to the great supper; Luke xiv. 16; Matt. xxii. 1, 2, 3, [that great supper is nothing but communion and fellowship with Christ] those that are invited, Matt. xxii. 3. are said to be called. "He sent forth his servants to call them that were bidden to the supper." And of those that refused to come, it is said, "Many are called, but few are chosen," ver. 14.

Only this invitation to communion and fellowship with Christ, is to be considered two ways. Merely and barely, as it is an act of God inviting by the word; or as it implies our answer or consent to that invitation. As when a man is

called to an office either in church or state, he is said to be called, though he does not accept of it; but when election and voluntary acceptation meet together, then there is a call. So our heavenly call, taking it in a large sense: all that live under the gospel are called, and invited. But in a proper and strict sense, men are said to be called only, when they accept, and consent upon Gods invitation. This distinction is very necessary: for Matt. xxii. 14, it is said, many are called, but few are chosen. And Rom. viii. 30, it is said expressly "That whom he hath predestinated, them he also called, and whom he called, them he also justified." If those that are called, are predestinated and justified, how is it true, "That many are called, and few are chosen?" I answer, taking calling in a large sense, for a bare invitation, many are called. Taking calling in a strict sense, as implying our answer, and acceptation, and consent thereto, so none are called but those that accept the call, and are brought home to God. God's calling is an effectual invitation of a person to the great snpper of the gospel, whereby a man does accept it, and is brought home to God.

Secondly. How does it appear, that when God brings home a man to himself, he does it in a way of calling; and why so? I answer, if our conversion be called our calling, and the saints are described by their calling, the thing is true; "Make your calling and election sure," 2 Pet. i. 10, that is your conversion. Rom. i. 6, 7. "Among whom also are ye called of God. Called to be saints." So 1 Cor. i. 2, Saints by calling. If the saints and people of God be described by, the called ones, and our conversion be termed our calling, then when God brings home a man to himself, he does it in a way of calling.

Because those that God brings home to himself, are afar off. We call men that are afar off: if they be near, we speak to them. By nature we are afar off from God; therefore when he converts men, he is said to call. Acts ii. 14, 39; "Peter standing up with the eleven, lifted up his voice, and said to them, Ye men of Judea, &c. hearken to my words. For the promise is to you, and to your children, and to all that are afar off, even to as many the Lord our God shall call." Called upon this account, because ye are afar off.

Is it not necessary, that we shouldbe conformed to Christ our Head, and to Abraham our father, "the father of the faithful?" You shall find Abraham was called, Isa. li. 2, "Look unto Abraham your father, &c. for I called him alone." Christ is also said to be called in a way suitable to him, Matt. ii. 15, "Out of Egypt have I called my son." Heb. v. 4, "No man taketh this honour unto himself, but he that was called of God, as was Aaron." Isa. iv. 26, "I the Lord have called thee in righteousness," &c. Isa. xlix. 1, "Listen, O isles unto me, &c. the Lord hath called me from the womb." We are to be conformable to Christ our Head, and to Abraham our father, in our calling.

If God shall bring a man home to himself, according to the practice of men, he must bring him home in a way of calling: "I drew them with the cords of a man," Hos. xi. 4. When God deals with man, it is in a way suitable to man: but why, when he brings a man home to himself, will he do it in a way of calling, when as he might do it immediately by his own infinite power? If I knew that a man would not accept my invitation to dinner, I would never send to invite him. God knows that every one will not come, what need he then stand calling and inviting? We must consider, that as God will deal with man in the way, and according to the manner of men; so he will deal with man also in the way of God too. Christ is God-man, God manifested in the flesh. 1 Tim. iii. 6. Because the work of our redemption was to be carried on by the hand of God, and by the hand of man both. Whereas should God deal with man only as God, then he would convert him presently by his own infinite power, and never make any invitation to him: and if he should deal with man only as man, he would never invite any of the dead: for who is there of you that will send to the grave, and invite a dead man to your table? But as God, he invites dead ones. There are some that think Christ need not to invite, because he can bring men home to himself by his own almighty power: but such do forget that the Deity works as a man. Others think men are to be converted only by moral suasions and persuasions; such do forget that Christ works as God too. But Christ is God-man; because the great work of our redemption and salvation, is to be carried on by the

hand of both. As God, he does invite and call irresistibly, omnipotently; as man, he invites by persuasion; as God-man, he invites, and gives a heart to accept of his invitation.

If all those blessings and mercies we are called to, are called God's blessings and mercies, (as so they are, "Who has called us out of darkness into his marvellous light," 1 Peter ii. 9, "who hath called us to his kingdom and glory,") it were presumption in me to meddle with the things of God, with "the things that are God's," if he did not invite me to it; but if a beggar comes to your house, and shall sit down at your table, he does not presume, because you have invited him. God will have his people know, that they do not presume when they come at his invitation, and call and meddle with the things of God.

If all the work of christianity be bestrewed with difficulty, and affliction, we had need be called thereunto, for in the time of affliction or difficulty, what shall bear up our heart, and carry us through, but God's call? God's call is our warrant, and our strength; therefore fit that all that are brought home to God, it should be in a way of calling.

Thirdly, What is the duty, then, of all that are called to God's kingdom and glory?

I answer, It is their duty to walk worthy of God. By worthy is not meant a worthiness of merit. No; there is a four-fold worthiness mentioned in Scripture.

1. In regard of merit; so only Christ is worthy. "For thou art worthy to take the book, and to open the seals," Rev. v. 9.

2. In regard of acceptation; so the saints are worthy. "They shall walk with me in white, for they are worthy," Rev. iii. 4.

3. In regard of proportion; so "Our present afflictions are not worthy to be compared with the glory that shall be revealed," 2 Cor. iv. 17. That is, there is no proportion between the glory of heaven, and the afflictions we meet with here below.

4. In regard of meetness, suitableness, and fitness. "Bring forth therefore fruits meet for repentance," Matt. iii. 8. And thus it is the duty of all that are called, to walk worthy of God, &c.

Because dignity calls for duty; and the more dignity, the more duty: what greater dignity than to be called to God's kingdom and glory?

The more sad and dismal any man's condition is, the more he is obliged, and engaged, and bound to God, to walk worthy and answerably to God who hath called him out of that condition. The condition we are called out of, is a condition of great darkness; for that is great darkness a man is in, which he cannot rise out of, nor lie still in. This is our condition; we can neither rise out of it of ourselves, nor lie still in it. "Therefore arise from the dead, and Christ shall give thee light," Eph. v. 14.

The more comfortable and glorious the condition is that a man is called unto, the more he is engaged to God, who hath called him to that condition. What is good in all the world, or desirable, but we are called to it, in this being "called to his kingdom and glory?" Is light desirable? We are "called out of darkness into his marvellous light." Is holiness desirable? "God hath not called us to uncleanness, but unto holiness," 1 Thess. iv. 7. Is peace desirable? We are called to peace, 1 Cor. vii. 5. Is communion and fellowship with Christ desirable? We are called to that, 1 Cor. i. 9, "God is faithful by whom ye are called to fellowship with his Son, Jesus Christ our Lord." Is the kingdom of God and his glory desirable? The text says, "We are called to his kingdom and glory." What is desirable, that by our vocation we are not called unto.

But may not these be lost? No.

The gifts and calling of God are without repentance. The gifts of the creation was not without repentance. "God repented that he had made man," Gen. vi. 6. But the gift of effectual calling is without repentance; therefore the more obliged to God for calling; and therefore our duty to walk worthy of our calling.

The more dangerous it is to refuse the call of God, the more mercy it is to be called, and the more obliged we are to walk worthy of God who hath so called us. Prov. i. 24, "Because I called, and ye refused, I will also laugh at your calamity," &c. But that I would have you consider, in Matt. xxii. 1. If you mark the parable, you will find three threes run parallel one with another. Three invitations, verse 3, "He sent forth his servants to call them that were bidden" to the wedding feast formerly. Then, verse 4, there is the third invitation: "Again he sent forth other servants,

saying, Tell them which are bidden, behold, I have prepared my dinner, &c., all things are ready, come to the marriage." Three refusals run parallel with these three invitations: at verse 3, they that were bidden formerly, at the second time of the servants being sent to call them, would not come. And again, verse 4, "He sent forth other servants, saying, Tell them which are bidden, behold all things are ready, come to the marriage; but they made light of it." Verse 5, there is the third invitation, "And the remnant took his servants, and intreated them spitefully, and slew them," verse 6. Observe three judgments run parallel with these three refusals, Luke xiv. 24, for it is one and the same parable. In Matt. xxii. 8, it is said, "That when the king heard thereof, he was wroth," and said, "The wedding is ready, but they that were bidden were not worthy." And, in Luke, "I say unto you, (says he) not one of those men that were bidden shall taste of my supper." And verse 7, "The king sent forth his armies (there is a second judgment) and destroyed these murtherers, and burnt up their city;" that was a third judgment. What a dangerous thing is it to refuse God's calling and invitation. It is a great mercy to be kept from refusing; and therefore if God calls, and gives us a heart to accept it, it is our duty to walk worthy of his calling, worthy of God. Therefore,

Fourthly, When may a man be said to be called; and how shall I know if I be truly called or no?

Those that do not live under a gospel ministry, nor never did, were never called; for God does ordinarily call men by preaching of the word. But though men do live under the means of grace, if they have not a disposition suitable, they are not called effectually, though called outwardly. They have not the wedding garment; for what is the wedding garment? A call to the wedding supper, to communion with Christ in the gospel, and a disposition suitable to accept the call; so that I shall know that I am effectually called.

If the Lord hath put forth an infinite and an almighty power upon my soul, constraining me to turn from my sins to God. Do they that are called refuse? "Go out into the highways and hedges," says the Lord, "and compel them to come in," Luke xiv. 23. When a man can say, "The love

of Christ constrains me;" I can do nothing against Christ, but for Christ; they are effectually called.

If you are begotten by the word of promise, then you are called effectually. "In Isaac shall thy seed be called," Rom. ix. 7. How was Isaac begotten? Not in a way of nature, but "by a word of promise," verse 8.

If you be separated from the world indeed, from the things and persons of the world. 1 Pet. ii. 9, "But ye are a chosen generation, a royal priesthood, a peculiar people, an holy nation, that ye should shew forth the praises of him that hath called you out of darkness into his marvellous light."

If there be in you an aptness, a readiness, and a willingness to be ruled by the word in all things, then are you effectually called. So when Cornelius was called, and Peter came to preach to him, Acts x. 29, "We are all present (says he to Peter) to hear all things that are commanded thee of God." And so when Paul was called, "Lord, what wilt thou have me to do?" says he, Acts ix. 6.

If you can say in truth, that all things work together for your good, then are you indeed "called according to his purpose," Rom. viii. 28. Not to them that are called outwardly, but to them that are called according to his purpose, effectually and truly, do all things work together for good. Can you say, I was under such and such an affliction or temptation, and it wrought together for my good; and under such a desertion, and it wrought for my spiritual good? Then you are called truly according to his purpose.

If you hold forth the praises of him that hath called you, then are you called truly and effectually; for why are you called, but "that you should shew forth the praises and virtues of him that hath called you?" 1 Peter ii. 9.

If any shall complain, I fear I am not effectually called, because I was first wrought upon by afflictions; those that are truly called, I find are called by the servants, by the preachers of the gospel;

To this I answer: It is true that God does ordinarily call men effectually by his ministers, who are the servants he sends forth; but remember also it is said. "He sent forth other servants to tell them which were bidden, all things are ready, come to the marriage," Matt. xxii. 4. Christ has other servants than these his ministers; though ordinarily

those he truly and effectually calls, it is by these. But he sends other servants too; he can give commission to an affliction to bring home souls to himself. What think you of the prodigal? Luke xv. Was not he brought home to his father by an affliction? Was not Naaman brought home to God by his leprosy? You will say perhaps, These were providentially, occasionally. But what say you then to Zaccheus? Was it not a kind of accidental, providential call that he had? And that Christ should call Matthew as he passed by, and saw him sit at the receipt of custom? Waldus, the father of the Waldenses, he and a company of his friends had supped together, and been merry; and as they were returning home, one of them fell down dead in the street. This was an occasional means of his conversion, who was so famous a man, and an instrument of converting so many thousands to the true religion. But shall the prodigal say, I fear my conversion is not right, because affliction led me first home to my father? Shall Zaccheus say, It was but an accidental thing that I ran up into the sycamore tree, being low of stature, and so could not else have seen Jesus for the press, whom I desired only out of curiosity to see, and therefore I fear my call was not right? God knows how to make use of contingencies, occasional providences, and of your afflictions, to bring you home to himself. And if you be brought home to God by the hand and ministry of affliction, that you can say as one did, If my parents had not been undone, I had been undone for ever; be content then with affliction, and love it the better. Usually persons have the greatest love for that minister that was the first instrument of their conversion.

Again, If any shall say, I fear I am not truly nor effectually called, because I do not know the time when I was so called; there being some that can tell you the very time, and the sermon, and the particular word in the sermon, that was effectual to their conversion; but I can give no account of any of these,

I answer, The sun when it comes into a room where the windows have no shutters, comes in by degrees; but it comes into a room where the windows have shutters all at once. Where there are the shutters of profaneness, drunkenness, uncleanness, and the like, when such men are

wrought upon, the sun comes in all at once. Those that are born of godly parents, and have been educated and trained up in a godly, religious way, they are converted; but many times they cannot tell you neither the particular minister, nor the word, nor the time when converting grace came in upon their souls; it came in by degrees; shall such say therefore they are not truly converted? Suppose a man had had the stone, but had got a powder, in the use of which the stone does wear out by degrees, shall that man say, I never had the stone, because many that are cured of the stone, it has been by cutting, and with a great deal of pain which I escaped, and therefore I never had the stone? So shall I, because I have not had those terrors and troubles of conscience that others have felt, argue therefore I am not converted? No, but go and bless God that you are converted; that the stone is wrought out of your heart in a more kindly and gentle way than in others. I say, What shall I do that I may walk worthy of God, who hath effectually called me, and in so sweet and gentle a way?

Fifthly, What shall I do, that I may walk worthy of God that hath called me, since certainly called I am. I am either called outwardly only, or effectually. If a man invites me to dinner, and I do not go, I am yet to carry it answerably to his love, in inviting me: much more, when the Lord has called me, and that effectually, it is my duty to walk worthy of God who hath thus called me. I am come into a great and open field, through all these precedent gates, I may proceed to further particulars hereafter, at present only remember, that a man is said to walk worthy of God, when he walks meetly, suitably, and answerably to that God hath called him. There are four expressions bishop Davenant hath in his notes upon the epistle to the Colossians, that run into this same matter. Sometimes a man is said to walk worthy of God; sometimes of the Lord Christ; sometimes of the gospel; sometimes of the high calling whereunto he is called. But that I may speak clearly to the point, I shall begin with the first of these, and shew you how a man shall "walk worthy of God that hath called him to his kingdom and glory," that is, suitably and answerably.

Observe the attributes and excellencies of God, and let them shine forth in you, that shine forth in him. God is a

great God; and if you will walk worthy of this great God, you must do some great thing for him. Solomon when he would build a temple for God, said, "It must be exceeding magnificent, for it was for the great God." It is no great thing to believe, love, and pray, and give alms to the poor; but it is a great thing to believe in the face of impossibilities. To love over the head of injuries; to pray when one's heart is dead and down; to give alms to the poor out of but a mite or two, as the widow did; and it is said, "She gave more than all the rest." It is no great matter, says one, for a man to do great things; but to do great things, and to think himself nothing; this is a great matter. If you will walk worthy of God, do some great thing for God.

As God is a great God; so he is a sovereign Lord, absolutely free, and is determined by nothing from without, but himself, but only of his own counsels; therefore if you will walk worthy of God, what is the thing wherein his good pleasure lies? Labour to know that: and not only to do the thing he commands; but serve the good pleasure of God. Be ye more gracious, because God is so freely gracious.

God is infinitely holy, therefore it is not said, almighty, almighty, almighty, not great, great, great, but, holy, holy, holy; because God looks upon holiness as his greatest excellency: so must you, if you will walk worthy of God, "and be holy as he is holy, in all manner of conversation," 1 Pet. i. 15, 16.

He is a God all-sufficient, "I am God all-sufficient, walk before me, and be upright," Gen. xvii. You give him the honour of his all-sufficiency, in being upright. When you step out from God, to fetch relief some where else, you dishonour God: "Is it because there is no God in Israel, that you go out to the god of Ekron?"

He is a faithful God. His faithfulness is twice repeated. "Faithful is he that hath called you," 1 Thess. v. 24, "God is faithful by whom you were called," 1 Cor. i. 9. Then would you walk worthy of God who hath called you; whenever God makes a promise, promise yourself that thing, because God hath promised it; not because the creature promiseth it, being big and full of second causes; but when God promiseth, assure yourself of it, because God hath promised it. This is to walk worthy of God, as he is faithful.

He is our chief good, and our utmost end, and therefore in all your affairs you are to begin with him, and to rest in him, and to be boundless and insatiable in your desires after him. A worldly man makes the world his end, and therefore is insatiable; thinks he never has enough of it, because he makes it his utmost end.

If you would walk worthy of God, &c. Observe what the great design of God is in the world, and labour all you can to advance the same: the great design of God in the world, is to glorify himself in his Son. Now when a man does pray to God, and Christ shall do the thing for him, that he prays for; then the Father is glorified in the Son. "Whatever ye shall ask in my name, that will I do, that the Father may be glorified in the Son," John xiv. 13. And when a man does hear Christ, and believe in Christ, and obey Christ, as sent of the Father; then he glorifies God the Father in the Son.

In case you have any work to do, first go to God before you try other means; it is no great honour to God to come to him in the last place, when you have no whither else to go, and to trust God when you can trust none else. But to believe in the face of impossibility, and to love over the head of injury, and to pray when all is dead and down; this is worthy of God.

Observe what that is that hath been your god, and give that to God. Bishop Babington, who was a good man in his time observes, that the children of Israel did sacrifice to God that which was the gods of other nations; and herein they honoured God. If you can give that to God which hath been your god; consider God the Father gave that to you that was dearest to him. If you give him that which is dearest to you, which you have made your god; this is a thing worthy of God "who hath called you to his kingdom and glory."

Take heed of sinning in secret, because God sees you; and be sure you be much in private duty, for God beholds you. The more I walk in the eye of an all-seeing God, the more I walk worthy of God.

In case you do or have received any mercy from God, be not only thankful upon account of a benefit, but praise God. There is a great deal of difference between thankfulness and praise. I am thankful to God for a benefit, but I praise him for that excellency of God which shines forth in that benefit.

Let there be always something of God stamped upon all that you do, suffer, or enjoy. Do you think that a naked profession is worthy of God; that to pray morning and evening, and never think of God all the day after, is worthy of God? No, but if you will walk worthy of God, something of God should be stamped upon all your doings, sufferings, company, converses and enjoyments. How is it with you as to what you have heard? Observe yourselves; would you walk worthy of God? You have heard it is the duty of all that are called to his kingdom and glory; but, Lord, how few are there that walk worthy of God, of the gospel, of Christ, of that high calling whereunto they are called! Are there not some among us that sit under the gospel, that in point of righteousness live beneath heathens; that walk contrary to their profession? Is this to walk worthy of God? Are there not some of us that at the best walk in a legal way, as under a covenant of works? Either you are called effectually or you are not; called you are, outwardly, all of you that live under the gospel. If you be not called effectually, the time will come when you will have this dreadful question put to you, "Friend, how camest thou in hither, not having a wedding garment?" not having a gospel disposition suitable to a gospel dispensation. If you be called effectually, you are called to a kingdom, and faithful is he that hath called you, who also will do it. "Only let your conversation be as becometh the gospel, worthy of him who hath called you to his kingdom and glory."

A

WORD TO THE AGED.

A. D. 1667.

A WORD TO THE AGED.

CHAPTER I.

THE OLD MAN'S WEAKNESS.

THERE is no state or condition of men, but some grace, goodness or virtue may and can plant upon; as there is no condition but some sin will grow upon.

Yet there is some grace or virtue that is most suited unto some condition, and will grow best upon such a soil; therefore the apostle John saith, "I will write unto you, fathers, because ye have known him that is from the beginning. I will write unto you, young men, because ye have overcome the wicked one. I write unto you, little children, because you have known the Father," 1 John ii. 13. It is our wisdom, therefore, to observe what our state and soil is, and to plant our ground accordingly. Now old age is a dry and barren ground. The state of old age is a state of weakness and of much infirmity. Solomon calls it "the evil day," Eccles. xii. 1. Evil it is in regard of natural and moral infirmities.

Evil in regard of natural infirmities, for then "the clouds return after the rain." In the time of youth, if a man be sick, and that cloud hath emptied itself by some great sickness, he is well again, and a fair day of health is upon him. But if a man be stricken with years, and a cloud of sickness doth arise upon him, though that cloud hath discharged itself by some great distemper, yet he hath still *infirmitatis stillicidia post ingentem tempestatem;* still it rains in upon him, and he can hardly sit dry in his old cottage; and therefore Solomon saith of this evil day, that then "the clouds return after the rain." Then, also, "the sun and moon and stars are darkened;" that is, the reason, memory, fancy, and all those faculties which do receive and give out our reason, ver. 2. "Then the keepers of the house do tremble;" that is, the hands and the arms: "and the strong men bow themselves;" that is, the thighs and legs: "and the grinders cease, because they are few;" that is, the teeth: "and those

that look out of the windows be darkened;" that is, the eyes, verse 3: "and the doors are shut in the streets when the sound of the grinding is low;" that is, the lips are shut and kept close, lest the meat should fall out of the mouth through want of teeth: "and all the daughters of music are brought low;" that is, both the speech and hearing, verse 4. "Then the almond tree flourisheth;" that is, the head doth grow grey and hoary: "a grasshopper is a burden;" for an old man cannot bear the lightest burden: "and desire faileth;" that is, the appetite unto meat, drink, and the marriage bed, verse 5. "Then the silver cord is loosed;" that is, the marrow of the back: "and the golden bowl is broken;" that is, the skull, which is round, yellow, and doth contain and preserve the brain: "and the pitcher is broken at the fountain;" that is, the bladder which did hold the urine, which in old age doth insensibly pass away: "and the wheel is broken at the cistern;" that is, the lungs are broken off from their motion of respiration or inspiration by pleghm from the stomach, or the circulation of the blood interrupted or hindered, verse 6. Thus the natural infirmities of an old man are very many, and the day of old age is an evil day in that respect; yea, upon this account, an old man is but half a man, "for eyes hath he, aad seeth not; ears hath he, and heareth not."

But as the day of old age is an evil day in regard of natural, so in regard of moral infirmities; for,

Then men are apt to be too drowsy and remiss in the things of God.

Then they are apt to be too covetous and tenacious for the things of the world: *fugientem sequimur mundum:* as wantonness is the young man's vice, so covetousness is the old man's sin.

Then are they apt to be too timorous and fearful: we read but of one man that came to Christ by night, out of fear, and he was a rich and old man, Nicodemus.

Then are they apt to be too touchy, peevish, angry and froward, for old age is a continued sickness, and in sickness men are apt to be angry.

Then are they, also, unapt to be taught, and are very unteachable; they think they know more than others, and that they are not now to learn, Eccles. iv. 13.

Then they are hard to be pleased, and as hard to please others.

Full of complaints they are of the present times, praising the former days of old, which the old men of those days did as much complain of as they do of these.

And of all men, if they be not good, they are the most impenitent, for by custom, and long continuance in sin, they are the most hardened, and so the least penitent.

Apt they are, also, to think and speak of the sins of their youth with delight, and so to commit them again by thought and word which they cannot come at by their action.

They are full of suspicions, and very apt to surmise, suspect and fear the worst, for experience giving notice of former dangers, keeps their souls in continual alarm.

Having therefore, and labouring under all these and other infirmities, both natural and moral, a threefold work is incumbent upon the aged: First, To comfort and bear up themselves against their natural infirmities. Secondly, To strengthen themselves against their moral infirmities, and to root them out. Thirdly, To plant that positive grace and goodness in the room thereof which doth best suit with their soil and condition.

CHAPTER II.

THE OLD MAN'S STAFF.

COMFORTS against the natural infirmities of old age are very many.

Christ himself did bear them, and still, as our High Priest, doth sympathize with us under them; such did he single out for his care and cure when he was here on earth. John v. There were many that lay by the pool of Bethesda, among the rest there was one that had lain sick and diseased thirty eight years; a young man, therefore, he was not; he would have stept into the pool, but others stept in before him, and he had no man to help him in. A poor neglected man he was, whom others minded not. Yet this was the man that Christ came to cure, whom Christ minded, and sought out, and cured. What, then, though you be a poor neglected old

person, and have lien long under your infirmities, yet Christ hath a cure for you. The blind men cried, and their cries put Christ to a stand for mercy, Matt. xx. 31, 32.

Though your infirmities be never so many and great, yet you have a peculiar honour that is twisted with your infirmity, for it is called the crown of old age. In times of the old testament they were to rise up and bow before the ancient; yea, it is our duty to honour them, for this honour is joined and commanded with the fear of God. Lev. xix. 32, "Thou shalt rise up before the hoary, and honour the face of the old man, and fear thy God, saith the Lord." The fear of God and honouring the old man is commanded with the same breath, and linked together in the same sentence.

Though you be very aged yet you may be very good. Was not Eli very good, yet very aged? Was not David very good, yet he was very old when he said, "Lord, now lettest thou thy servant depart in peace?" Was not Anna very good, yet she was very aged? Who doth not know what a good man Paul was, yet, saith he, Paul the aged. Good John was aged John. Possibly, then, you may be very good, though you be very aged, labouring under much infirmity.

And though your flesh be weak, yet your spirit may be willing. "The flesh indeed is weak," said Christ, when his disciples slept through natural infirmity, for it was late at night, and they were full of grief; "but the spirit is willing," said he, also, and where the spirit is willing, he will pass by the weakness of the flesh and accept the willingness of the spirit.

These infirmities of old age are such as are not the fruit of our own sin. The more any infirmity is caused by sin, the more afflictive it is, for sin is the sting of death. I confess, indeed, they may be sometimes, for the sins of youth do sometimes bite sore in age. I ate so much of the forbidden fruit, said a good man, when I was young, that God was fain to give me wormseed to kill the worm. But the infirmities of old age are generally the decays of nature, not of grace.

They are good warnings of our change approaching, and by them we die daily, that at last we may die graciously and comfortably.

And who are those that God doth reveal himself unto, but to his old friends; those he will acquaint with his secrets,

and make known his mind unto. Job xii. 12, "With the ancient is wisdom, and in length of days understanding."

And though your legs be weak, yet they may be strong enough to carry you to heaven, that better country, which you are now going to, and are very near; indeed your own present country is a good country, but the country you are now going to is a better country, Heb. xi. 16.

Better in regard of buildings: "Whose builder and maker is God," Heb. xi. 10.

Better in regard of inhabitants: "Where no unclean thing doth enter," Rev. xxi. 27.

Better in regard of quietness and freedom from trouble: where all tears shall not only be wiped from our cheeks, but out of our eyes, as the greek word bears it, Rev. vii., insomuch as the eye shall never breed a tear again, nor be the womb of tears.

Better in regard of riches: where you shall have "an inheritance incorruptible, undefiled, that fadeth not away."

Better in regard of pleasure: for saith the psalmist, "At thy right hand are rivers of pleasures, and that for evermore."

Better in regard of largeness: for if the whole earth be but a pin's head in comparison of the heavens, then surely there is room enough in heaven for every one to enjoy a greater kingdom than all England doth amount unto.

Better in regard of self-subsistence: here one country doth depend upon another, but heaven is that country alone which doth depend upon no other country.

Better in regard of our freedom from needs and necessities. It was Augustine's prayer, Deliver me, O Lord, from my necessities. It is a great mercy now to have bread to eat when we want it, but it is a greater mercy to have no need of it. A great mercy it is to have a good bed to lie on, and so to sleep quietly, but it is a greater mercy to have no need of bed or sleep. This is the state of that heavenly country, where you have not these blessings, but where you have no need of them.

Better, also, it is in regard of continuance, where every mercy and blessing grows upon the stalk of eternity. And if it be a good thing to have a lease of a good house and land for a hundred years, what a blessed thing then it is to have a

glorious mansion and inheritance lying in the fields of eternity? When you come to a great palace, and see fair barns and stables and out-houses, you say then, if the out-rooms and stables be so costly and sumptuous, how costly and glorious is this palace within? Yet this is that country, that better country that you are going and drawing nigh unto, and your passage thither is very short, for no sooner do ye step out of this world, but, if godly, gracious, and in Christ, you step immediately into that country; there is no sleeping of the soul after death. Some have dreamed of such a sleep, but Solomon tells us that "the body upon death goes to the dust, and the spirit unto him that gave it," Eccles. xii. 7. Christ said to the thief, "This day shalt thou be with me in paradise;" and the apostle Paul tells us that paradise and the third heaven are one and the same thing, 2 Cor. xii. Yea, saith Paul, "I am in a strait betwixt two, not well knowing whether I should desire to die for mine own enjoyment, or to live for the service of the churches," Phil. i. 22, 23, 24. Whereas, if the soul did sleep in the grave with the body, he needed not to have been in that strait. "I desire (said he) to be dissolved. and to be with Christ." If with Christ presently, how can the soul sleep with the body in the dust? "But we know," says he, 2 Cor. v. 1, "that if our earthly house of this tabernacle were dissolved, we have a building of God, a house not made with hands, eternal in the heavens." What, then, though your turf house now be ready to fire into a fever with every spark of distemper, is there not enough in that house above to pay for all? surely there is. Why, then, should ye not lift up your heads, ye old men, and be of good comfort under all your natural infirmities.

And as for your moral infirmities, if you would strengthen yourself against them, and root out these weeds there,

Be sure that you study and think much on Christ crucified, who alone is our righteousness and our strength. Temptations or sins blown out by reason or resolution, will easily light again; but quenched in the blood of Christ, and they light no more. When the Israelite was stung with fiery serpents, he did not stand looking on his swoln arm or leg, but on the brazen serpent, and so was cured. Christ lifted

upon the cross is our brazen serpent, and he hath said, "Look unto me, oh, all ye ends of the earth, and be saved."

Then by way of consideration, think, and think much with yourselves, what an evil thing it is to sin when a man is ready to die. Thus you leave not your sin, but your sin you.

Be sure that you do not chew the cud of your former sins, by musing on them with delight, for thereby you justify your former practice; but rather mourn over them, for the way to keep from future sins is to mourn for former; and the way to be kept from sins of old age, is to mourn for the sins of our youth.

But, above all things, under your study of Christ crucified, be sure that you strengthen your love to God in Christ; for if the boughs of the tree be weak, the way to strengthen them is, not to carry up dung to the boughs, but to lay the dung to the root, for by strengthening the root, you strengthen the branches. Now the root of all our mortification is love, for love is the cause of hatred. "Ye that love the Lord hate evil." Love to God eats out our love to sin, as the fear of God eats out our fear of men; and your love to God is strengthened by the sight of his love to you. For love is the cause of love; the more we see God's love to us, the more we love him, and do hate our sins. Would you, therefore, take up your sinful weeds by the roots? then strengthen your love, and this shall be a staff in your hand, to strengthen and bear you up under all your infirmities, both natural and moral.

CHAPTER III.

THE OLD MAN'S GUIDE.

But there is yet one thing remaining and incumbent on the aged, and that is, to plant the positive grace and virtue, which doth best suit with his soil and condition.

What are those good things, therefore, that old men especially are to do in their old age?

They are full of experience, and therefore should be full of faith; for though God's word only be the ground of our

faith, yet experience is a great help to faith. Now there is a faith of reliance, and a faith of assurance. Faith of reliance justifies, faith of assurance comforts. Old men, therefore, are to exercise the faith of reliance, relying upon Christ's righteousness, renouncing their own; and to exercise the faith of assurance, for it is ill dying with a doubting soul. As zeal is the young man's virtue, so faith is the old man's grace.

Then it is their work and duty to renew their repentance, for they are shortly to appear before the Lord, and to give an account of all that they have done in the flesh: and will they appear before him in their filthy rags? Now though we are only washed from our sins by the blood of Christ unto justification, yet we are washed from our filth by the hand of repentance unto sanctification. For as God promises to wash us with clean water, so he commands us to wash ourselves. Isa. i. And if a man will not wash and repent at the last, when will he repent? When the leaves are off the trees, we see the birds' nests in the trees and bushes. Now in our old age our leaves are off, then therefore we may see those nests of sin and lust, in our hearts and lives, which we saw not before, and so be sensible and repent of them.

Then are they also to be much in reading the Scripture, meditation and prayer; for by this reading they shall gain knowledge, by meditation upon their reading they shall add affection to their knowledge, and by prayer they shall add devotion unto their affection.

And because they are ready to weigh anchor, and to set sail for the other world, it will be good for them to observe what is the proper work of this world, and to be much therein. For "every thing is beautiful in the time thereof." Now is a time for believing. Heaven is no time for faith, for in heaven we live by sight. Now is a time for repentance; in heaven there is no repentance, for there is no sorrow. Now is a time of patience; in heaven there is no patience under affliction, for there is no affliction. Now is a time of hearing the word preached, and for sacraments and ordinances; there is no preaching, sacraments or ordinances in heaven. Now is a time to relieve the poor; in heaven there is no room for such charity: it is that country where no beggar lies at your door. Now is a time to observe our

relations; in heaven there are no such relations, for "they neither marry nor are given in marriage, but are as the angels." Now, therefore, whatever is in the power of your hand to do, do it with all your might, for in the grave there is no work, nor in heaven there is none of this work, whither you are going. This, therefore, that is to be done here, and cannot be done there, is now to be done especially.

Then it is the old man's duty to live much in a little time, and to be more exact and strict in his life than ever; for the nearer the stone comes to the centre, the faster it moves; the more wisdom any man hath, the more exactly he works. Wisdom and exactness go together: "See that you walk exactly, not as fools, but as wise," says the apostle. Now grey hairs should be found in the way of wisdom; and the more frequently a man doth work, the more exactly he may do the same. Now those that are ancient, have, or should have been frequently in holy duties; they therefore, of all men, are to live and walk most exactly. Thus it shall not be said of them, as Seneca says of one, he did not live long, but he was long.

Then are they to knock off from the world, and to use the world as if they used it not: "For the fashion of this world passeth away, and the time is short, therefore their moderation should be known unto all men, for the Lord is at hand." If a tooth be to be drawn, and the gum be cut, the tooth doth come out with ease; but if it be fast set in the gum, and not first loosened from the gum, it comes out with much difficulty: and what is the reason that many die with such difficulty? but because they are so fast set in their worldly gums, they are not loosened from their relations. Good therefore it is for old men, who are upon the brink of death, to cut their gum, and to loosen themselves from this world and all their relations.

Then let the old man take heed of all these evils, that may and will stain the glory of his old age. All sins do leave a blot and stain behind them, but youthful sins do especially stain old age; for the sin is the greater as it is more contrary to the sinner. It is an evil thing for any man to be unjust, but worse for a judge to be so, because there is a special repugnancy betwixt the sin and the sinner: now there is a special repugnancy betwixt old men and youthful sins. Give

me a young man indeed with an old man's virtue, wisdom. Give me an old man indeed with a young man's grace, zeal. But a young man vitiated with an old man's sin, covetousness; or an old man defiled with a young man's sin, wantonness; are an abomination both to God and man, and are stained deeply and greatly. A certain Lacedemonian being asked why he suffered his beard to grow so long; to the end, said he, that looking on my white hairs, I may be put in mind not to do any act unbeseeming my hoary whiteness.

Then it is their duty also to prepare for death, their great change and dissolution. It was the complaint of Cæsar Borgius, When I lived, I provided for every thing but death; now I am ready to die, I am not provided to die. Such providers in the world there are very many; but shall I provide for a journey, and not for this great journey? This is every man's work, but the old man's especially. For though the young man's candle may go out, the old man's will and shall.

But what should the old man do, that he may be fit to die?

God will give dying grace upon dying ground. Yet,

He must be sure to do the work of his present day; the only way to be fit for the work of the morrow, is to do the work of the present day.

Then let him examine himself, and make his reckonings even with God, that when he comes to die, he may have nothing to do but to die.

Then let him resign and give up himself and will to God afresh. Thus Christ did as soon as he drew nigh to death. "If it be possible," said he, "let this cup pass; yet not my will, but thy will be done;" which he did again and again, at his first approach unto death, and this he did in his last words, "Father, into thy hands I commend my spirit."

Let him long after heaven, and not be afraid to die, for if he be in Christ death itself is his. "All things are your's," saith the apostle, "life and death, for ye are Christ's:" and who is afraid of his own? The child is not afraid of the great mastiff, but puts his hands into the dog's mouth; and if you ask him, why so? for he is our own dog, saith the child. Now if a man be in Christ, this great mastiff, death, is his own, and therefore why should he be afraid thereof? Yea, why should he not be willing to die? Was Elijah un-

willing to go into the fiery chariot? Is the child unwilling to ride home, because it is a trotting horse that he must ride upon? No. What then, though it be an hard and a sore sickness that you must ride on, yet if it carry you home to your Father, why should you be unwilling to die? Now the only way to be willing to die, is to get assurance of our interest in Christ, and of our own salvation. For what is the reason that men are unwilling to die, but because they cannot tell where they shall land after death. True, says one, I am launching forth into the ocean of eternity, but on what shore I shall land, God knows. Oh, that I might live one year more, one month more, yea, one hour more, until I had assurance of my salvation. And when that comes, then the soul having thereby clasped about and gotten Christ into his arms, cries out and says, "Lord, now lettest thou thy servant depart in peace, for mine eyes have seen thy salvation."

Then, also, let him set his house in order, make his will, and leave his legacies to his children, friends and posterity. Shall Achitopel, when he changed himself, set his house in order before he died; and shall not an ancient christian set his house and heart in order, make his will, and leave his legacies unto his friends and posterity?

CHAPTER IV.

THE OLD MAN'S WILL AND LEGACIES.

But what good thing should the old leave, or give unto his posterity by his last will?

Why first, he must be sure to give his soul unto God while he lives; for if a man gives his soul to the world and devil while he lives, what right hath he to give it unto God when he dies? If I give away an house or land while I live, can I justly give it to another when I die? And if I give away my soul to sin, world or devil, while I live, how can I justly give it to God when I die? it being a maxim in the common law, that *vendens eandem rem duobus falsarius est.*

Then let him leave a good example unto his posterity: a good example is a great legacy. Thus a man speaks when he is dead, as Abel doth. Heb. xi.

And if he would leave some good things unto his posterity, then let him leave his experiences. An old man is, or should be, rich in experience; an ancient christian is, or should be, an experimental christian: when therefore he comes to die, it is his work and duty to leave those experiences unto his posterity.

Yea, then let him leave some good exhortations and admonitions with and upon his posterity, saying, Come, O my son, or daughter, or friend, I am now going the way of all flesh; when I am gome,—

Be sure that you fear the Lord and keep his commandments, for if you keep God's commandments, you shall have the comfort of his promises.

Be sure, also, O my son, that you give your first and best unto God, for God is the first and best of beings, and "If you honour the Lord with your substance, and with the firstfruits of all your increase; then shall your barns be filled with plenty, and your presses shall burst forth with new wine," Prov. iii. 10. And why should you not give your first time and best of your all unto God, who hath given his best and only Son unto you. If you serve God while you are young, God will bless you when you are old; and if you come unto him when you are young, you may build on it that he will not forsake you when you are old. Thus David argued, "Forsake me not, O God, now I am old and grey headed," Ps. lxxi. 18. Why? Ver. 17, "Thou hast taught me from my youth;" ver. 5, "For thou art my hope, O Lord God, thou art my trust from my youth." God is engaged, it seems by this argumentation, to those that are good while they are young, to shew mercy to them when they are old. The hand of a child may pull up a plant, when it is young and tender, but if it grows to a tall tree, all the horses in the town cannot pluck it up. So in regard of sin; let your mortification of sin begin therefore betimes. If the paper be clear and clean, you may write any thing on it; but if other things be scribbled on the paper, it is then unfit to receive any writing or impression: so in regard of the impressions of good upon the soul and heart. Let your vivification, therefore, and holiness, begin betimes. Thus let your first be given unto God.

And though you have not so great parts and gifts as others

have, yet let your desires of good be as full as any others; what you want in expression make up in affection. When nature is wanting in one thing, it supplies it in another. The blind man hath the best memory. And that God which gives you a heart to desire, will give you your heart's desire. And if your parts be taller by head and shoulders than others, then expect envy, and pray much for humility.

In case you sin at any time, as you will often, then be sure, O my children, that you delay not your repentance; for the green wound is most easily cured. The thief indeed was converted at the last, but it was as soon as he was called. Some come in at the last hour of the day, but they come when they are called. Now you are called to-day, and therefore defer it not until to-morrow.

Let your company be good, for every man is as the company of his choice is. Solomon saith, Eccles. xii., "Remember thy Creator in the days of thy youth;" which, if you please, you may read according to the Hebrew, "In the days of the choice, or choices," because in the days of youth a man makes choice of a trade or calling: then he makes choice of his religion, then he makes choice of his wife, and then he makes choice of his company. Now then, my son, have a care of these choices.

And let your discourse be always seasoned with salt, for, "By your words you shall be justified, and by your words you shall be condemned at the last day," says our Saviour; for, *sermo index animi*, words are the index of the mind. A good soul never lives at the sign of ill speech.

And as for the world and the things thereof, though you may pray for much, yet you must be content with little. The way to have a mercy or blessing, is to be content to go without it; and the way to avoid any evil, is to submit to it; and to remove it, is to bless God over it, as Job did.

Let your recreation, O my children, be sparing, for they are but *condimentum*, your sauce, and not *nutrimentum*, your nourishment, your cordial, and not your diet.

Of all books, study the Bible; of all duties, be much in prayer; of all graces, exercise faith; of all days, observe the Lord's day; and of all things in heaven and earth, be sure that you get an interest in God by Jesus Christ.

And by any means, O my children, and friends, "let bro-

therly love continue, for love is the fulfilling of the law." Who can break a faggot, when the sticks are joined together by the common band? but if the sticks be parted, how easily they are all broken. And what is the reason that such judicial breaches are made upon us, but because our pride and want of love doth make such sinful breaches among us. Cyprian tells us that the divisions and dissensions of the christians was the cause of the persecutions in the primitive times; for, said he, those evils had not come to the brethren, if the brethren had been united or animated into one. But I am sure that our Saviour Christ saith, "By this shall all men know that ye are my disciples, if ye love one another;" and John, the disciple of love, saith, "By this ye shall know that you are translated from death to life, because you love the brethren." See therefore that you love the brethren, and that because they are brethren. For possibly a man may love those that are good, yet not because they are good, for then he would love them better that are better, and those best that are best. If you love those that are good it is well, yet this may be for some self-concernment, and your love then will be narrowed, and your affections monopolized, by some only of your own persuasion or relation; but if you love those that are good, because they are good, this is better, for then you will love all that are good, though some of different persuasion from you: for *a quatenus ad omne*, &c. from all to all is a good consequence. Thus therefore, O my sons, let your love be stated, continued and increased towards men. But above all, be sure that you love Jesus also for Jesus. Jesus is hardly loved for Jesus, but do you love Christ for himself, and let the only measure of your love be, to know no measure. Thus let the old man do and die, and as he lived by faith he shall die in the faith.

And as motives unto all these things, let the old man consider:

That in so doing he shall leave a sweet perfume behind him, and many shall bless God for him when he is dead.

That there is enough in heaven to pay for all his pains here on earth.

That he is not so weak but he is strong enough to sin, and shall we be strong to sin and not to serve?

That it may be it was late ere he came into God's

work; and if you played away the forenoon of your age, will you not work the harder in the afternoon?

That God will accept from youth and old age; from youth, because it is the first; and from old age, because it is the last, and from much weakness.

That God's promise is very full, for he hath promised and said, "Thou shalt come to thy grave in a full old age, and as a shock of corn cometh in his season," Job v. 26. Yea, he hath promised and said, that "those that are planted in the house of the Lord, shall flourish in the courts of our God; they shall bring forth fruit in old age, they shall be fat and flourishing," Ps. xcii. 13, 14.

That thus they shall not be afraid to die, but shall say with that good man dying, I have not so lived that I am afraid to die, but I have so learned Christ that I am not afraid to die.

Yea, and thus shall his old age be a good old age, and he "so number his days, (it is not said his years, nor his months, nor his weeks, but days, for his life is so short that it is rather to be numbered by days than years, or months, or weeks,) that he shall apply his heart unto wisdom."

THE

WOUNDED CONSCIENCE CURED,

THE WEAK ONE STRENGTHENED, AND THE DOUBTING SATISFIED.

BY WAY OF ANSWER TO Dr. FEARNE.

WHERE THE MAIN POINT IS RIGHTLY STATED, AND OBJECTIONS THROUGHLY ANSWERED, FOR THE GOOD OF THOSE WHO ARE WILLING NOT TO BE DECEIVED.

"Holding faith and a good conscience, which some having put away, and concerning faith, have made shipwreck."—1 Tim. i. 19.

"Give unto Cæsar the things that are Cæsar's, and unto God the things that are God's."

This Treatise was once before travelling abroad into the world, till it came unto the Author, who could not look upon it without much indignation, to see how that, and in it, himself also was so much wronged and abused; being so perverted and misplaced (besides other errata) in the printing, that it was nothing like the book that was intended; so falsely, and so contrary to his meaning, that the Author may truly say as Martial to one:

Quem recitas meus est, O Fidentine libellus,
Sed male dum recitas incipit esse tuus.

O Fidentine, a book of mine
Thou printedst with my will;
And yet not mine, but it is thine,
Because it 's printed ill.

Much wrong and damage accrued to many by it; but such be the times, that all suffer in one thing or other, and so this may be the more easily borne. It is now corrected and much amended by the care and industry of a friend, who desires to commend the book unto thy view, and serious thoughts upon it.

TO THE READER.

READER.—THOU hast conscience here once again brought unto the trial: the Doctor hath condemned the consciences of our parliament and soldiers, in their defensive war, which he calls resistance, as guilty of murder, and the prosecution of it damnable: such perilous times are ours, when the best and most faithfullest subjects are laid under those false and foul slanders of treason and murder, while traitors and murderers are countenanced and encouraged. I desire thou wouldst take notice, while this Doctor is busy abroad, thinking to rectify the consciences of others, neglects his own, threatening damnation to others, while by the same sin he ventures the damning of his. He pleads for honour and obedience to authority, whiles he dishonours, and would draw people to disobedience against the parliament, which he doth, while in the face of the world he makes them no better than hypocrites, telling us of their plausible but groundless principles, their fair but deceiving pretences to draw people into arms, as if, like watermen, they looked one way and rowed another, pretending one thing, intending another. What doth he less, in his epistle, than charge them boldly, as if what they told the people about their dangers were mere figments, and to believe them (saying the taking up arms for their defence is warrantable by the fundamentals of the kingdom) is to trust without warrant, and to exalt them above their due, and make popes of them; and if they look not to it, they will be blindly carried on against all rules of conscience. Much of this stuff is woven along in the hook, I only give thee a touch of it, *ut ex ungve leonem*, and take notice, while he is busy in pulling the motes out of other men's eyes, he forgets the beam in his own; and take heed how thou followest his guidance, who under shew of steering thy conscience safe between two rocks, in seeking to bring thee off from one he split it on another; while pressing honour and obedience to authority, he speaks evil of the rulers of the people, against an express word, Exod. xxii. 28, "Thou shalt not rail upon the judges, neither speak evil of the ruler of thy people;" and seeks to withdraw people from obedience to authority. Thou mayest take notice that three times already hath this case of conscience been pleaded, and our worthies, both in their actions and consciences, vindicated, acquitted and justified both by the law of God and man, who have found the hill of indictment to be erroneous, a mere supposal of his own, calling that a resistance to the higher powers, which is only a contending for him, to deliver him out of the hands of those that seduce and mislead him; not much unlike that in the people for David, 2 Sam. xix. 41, "Why have these men stolen away the king from us?" This is the main work, to bring his majesty back to those who have the most and best interest in him, being the representative body of the whole kingdom. In this answer thou shalt find the question rightly put, and the main business rightly stated, objections fully answered, the Scriptures cleared, and so ground work truly laid to satisfy and settle people's consciences. The reasons why it comes so long after the rest, are: 1. The Author hearing that the hook was already answered, did for a while lay aside his thoughts of it when he had begun, till he was strongly pressed to perfect it by the importunity of some friends near him. 2. The distance

of place, living many miles from hence. 3. The oft news of terms of pacification, which, had they taken effect, would have put an end to these controversies for the present. 4. Thou shalt gain by this story, there being recompence made in the fulness of the answer, which thou shalt find if thou be willing to read it through judiciously, and without prejudice, with a desire to be informed in the truth, and satisfied in thy doubts. Truly there is nothing we should be more desirous of, than to have our consciences rightly enlightened and throughly stablished in these dangerous and unsettled times, the comfort and benefit of a good conscience being incomparable and unspeakable in such times and such cases where all other comforts fail, and man stands in most need of comfort; which book, if we shall well study, and keep accordingly, we may be able to hold up our heads in the worst times. The Author hath to this end published a sermon also, preached to the volunteers [forming the second sermon in the fourth volume of this edition] to encourage them in the work, to draw the affections, to make them truly zealous in so good a cause; and truly it is the goodness of conscience that makes christians as bold as lions, and look all enemies in the face, and part with all to maintain it. Thou mayest have them both together, this being also a fit theme to press now, where be so many discouragements, that conscience being rightly enlightened, and interested in God, we may encourage ourselves in the Lord our God; which is the earnest wish and fervent prayer of him that is desirous of thy good, in Christ,

I. A.

THE WOUNDED CONSCIENCE CURED, &c. &c.

AN INTRODUCTION

UNTO THE TREATISE NECESSARY FOR ALL GOOD SUBJECTS TO UNDERSTAND, &c.

I HAVE perused Dr. Fearne's book, entitled, The Resolving of Conscience; wherein I find that he hath exceedingly mistaken the question: the question in truth is, Whether the parliament now hath justly taken up arms? we affirm it, he denies it, and withal slips into another question, Whether it be lawful for the subjects to take up arms against their king? but if he will so propound the question, then I must preface these two or three distinctions, and one caution.

First, That the subject is considered two ways, either unitive or divisive, conjunctively or divisively. The subject considered divisively hath always applied himself to prayers and tears, using no other remedy; and of this we speak not: but conjunctively considered state-wise, so he now doth, and it is lawful for him thus to take up arms. Secondly, The subject may be said to take up arms, either as an act of self-preservation, or as an act of jurisdiction exercised towards his prince. The first way we say it is lawful; the second way we contend not for. Thirdly, The subject is said to take up arms against the king, either as against the king's person, and of this we do not speak; or as against the king's commandment for their own preservation, so we affirm it, and then our position is:

That it is lawful for the subjects, conjunctively considered, to take up arms for self-preservation against the king's commandment, where two things are to be cleared: First, That this is the case with the parliament. Secondly, That this is lawful for them to do. First, This is their case, for, as any reasonable by-stander may observe, there are three grounds of this their proceeding: the one is, to fetch in delinquents, and such persons as are accused before them, to be legally tried in that highest court of the kingdom; the second is, to

defend the state from foreign invasion, who see more into the danger than we do; the third is, to preserve themselves and the country from the insurrection and rebellion of papists: and that this is lawful we prove by divers reasons, some drawn from nature, some from Scripture, some from the fundamental laws of the kingdom, some from the being of parliaments, and some from the common trust reposed on princes.

First, From nature. It is the most natural work in the world for every thing to preserve itself. Natural for a man to preserve himself, natural for a community; and therefore when a commonweale shall choose a prince, or a state-officer, though they trust him with their welfare, then that act of their trust is but by positive law, and therefore cannot destroy the natural law, which is self-preservation, *cum humana potestas supra jus natura non existit*,* seeing that no human power is above the law of nature.

Secondly, From Scripture. The word of God saith expressly, in 1 Chron. xii. 19, that David went out against Saul to battle; yet he was Saul's subject at that time, for the lord of the Philistines sent him away, saying, He will fall to his master Saul: which text I bring not to prove that a subject may take up arms against the king's person, but that the subjects may take up arms against those that are malignant about the king's person, notwithstanding the king's command to the contrary, which because this of David is said to be against Saul, and that David's heart smote him for cutting off the lap of Saul's garment: the meaning, therefore, must needs be, that he went out in battle against those that attended upon Saul, strengthened by Saul's authority, notwithstanding Saul's command to the contrary. And in the New Testament, Rom. xiii. 1, we are commanded to be subject to the higher powers; now the parliament being the highest court of justice in this kingdom, as king James saith in his Basilicon Doron, must needs be the higher powers of England; though the king be supreme, yet they have the high power of declaring the law, as this Dr. Fearne confesseth, being most fit to judge what is law. They, therefore, declaring this to be the fundamental law of the kingdom, for the subjects to defend themselves by forcible resistance, notwithstanding the king's command to

* Jacob Almain de auth. ecclesiæ apud Gerson.

the contrary, it is the duty of all the subjects to be obedient to these higher powers.

Thirdly, From the fundamental laws of the kingdom. It is according to the fundamental laws of the kingdom, yea written and not unseen laws, that the parliament is trusted by the commonweale with the welfare and security thereof; whence I do reason thus: If it be the duty of the king to look to the safety of the kingdom, and that because he is trusted therewith by the commonweale; then if the parliament be immediately trusted by the commonweale with the safety thereof as well as the king, though not so much, then are they to look to it, and to use all means for the preservation thereof as well as the king; but so it is that the prince is bound to look to the safety and welfare of the kingdom, as is agreed by all; and, therefore, he is bound to it, because he receiveth this power original, I speak not in opposition to God, but, I say, originally from the people themselves, as appears by the government of the judges and kings of Israel, which government, this Doctor saith, was monarchial, the best platform for England: for Judges viii. 22, "The men of Israel came unto Gibeon to make him their king;" and Judges ix. 6, "They gathered together and made Abimeleck their king;" and Judges xi. 8—11, "The people covenanted with Jephthah, and made him their king;" and as for Saul, though he was designed by God to the kingdom, yet the people themselves chose the kind of their government first, when they said, "Give us a king to rule over us, after the manner of the nations." After that God had anointed Saul, it is said, 1 Sam. xi. 15, "And all the people went to Gilgal, and there they made Saul king before the Lord in Gilgal." And as for David, though he was anointed king by Samuel, yet we find that he continued a subject unto Saul after that; and 2 Sam. ii. "He came unto Hebron, and there the men of Judah were, and there they anointed David king over the house of Judah," verse 4. After that he was thus anointed by Judah to be king over them, yet he did not rule over Israel till the other tribes, also, went out and made him king over them, 1 Chron. xii. 38. It is said that all these men of war came with a perfect heart to Hebron, to make David king over all Israel. And as for Solomon, though he was designed by God to the kingdom, yet it is said of him,

also, 1 Chron. xxix. 22, that "all the congregation did eat and drink before the Lord, and they made Solomon, the son of David, king the second time, and anointed him unto the Lord to be the chief governor." Solomon being dead, 2 Chron. x. 1, it is said of Rehoboam, that "he went to Shechem, where all Israel came to make him king." And in 2 Sam. xvi. 18, it is said thus: "And Hushai said unto Absalom, God save the king, God save the king. And Absalom said unto Hushai, Is this thy kindness unto thy friend, why wentest thou not with thy friend? And Hushai said unto Absalom again, Nay, but whom the Lord and this people and all the men of Israel choose, his will I be, and with him will I abide." So that we see that these monarchs, both of the judges and kings of Israel, were chosen and entrusted by the people, and had their power of governing from them. The parliament, also, is immediately trusted by the people and commonweale with the safety thereof as well as the king, though not to be king, for they are the officers of the kingdom, and therefore chosen immediately by the people, and not designed by the king: and this kind of officers was in David's time also; there were some officers then that were the king's officers, his cooks, his bakers, the steward of his house and the like. Others were the officers of the kingdom, called the elders, and heads of the tribes, which though they were under him, yet were they with him trusted in the affairs of the kingdom, whom therefore he did consult with in the great affairs of the state, 1 Chron. xiii. 1. Wherefore seeing the king is to look to the safety of the kingdom, and that because he is trusted therewith by the people, and the parliament are as well trusted by the people with the safety of the land, it is their duty in case of danger to look to it, which they are not able to do, and make good their trust, unless they have power to take up arms against an enemy when the prince is misled or defective.

Fourthly, From the being of a parliament. As it is a parliament it is the highest court of justice in the kingdom, therefore hath power to send for by force those that are accused before them, that they may come to their trial; which power, if I mistake not, inferior courts have, much more the highest. It is out of doubt agreed on by all, that the parliament hath a power to send a serjeant-at-arms to bring up such an one as is accused before them; and if they have a power

to send one serjeant-at-arms, then twenty, if twenty be accused; then a hundred, if there be a hundred accused; then a thousand, if there be a thousand accused; then ten thousand, if there be ten thousand accused; and so more or less as occasion serves: for there is the same reason for two as for one, and for four as for two, and for a hundred as for twenty, and for a thousand as for a hundred; and take away this power from the parliament and it is no longer a parliament: but the king and his forefathers have by law settled these liberties of parliament, and therefore, according to laws, they have a power to send for by force those that are accused to be tried before them, which they cannot do unless they raise an army, when the accused are kept from them by an army.

Fifthly, From the common trust reposed on princes, and the end thereof, which is to feed their people. Psalm lxxviii. 70, "He chose David his servant, and took him from the sheep-fold to feed his people, Jacob, and his inheritance in Israel." The end why the people have trusted the prince, is the safety and security of the kingdom, the safety and welfare of the state; not that the king might be great and the subjects slaves. Now if a people should have no power to take up arms for their own defence because they had trusted the prince therewithal, then by that trust they intended to make themselves slaves. For suppose the king will let in a common enemy upon them, or take his own subjects and make them slaves in gallies, if they may not take up arms for their own defence. because they had trusted their prince therewithal; what can this be but by their trust to make themselves slaves unto him?

The caution that is to be premised is this: notwithstanding all that I have said yet, I do not say that the subjects have power to depose their prince, neither doth our assertion or practice enforce such an inference.

But if the power of the prince be derived from the people, then they may take away that power again. I answer, it follows not, neither shall the people need to think of such an inference. Indeed if the power were derived from the people to the prince firstly, and that the people should be so strait-laced that they should have no power left to defend themselves in case of danger when the prince is misled, or unfaithful, then the people might be occasioned to think of

deposing their prince: but though the power of the prince be originally from them, yet if they have so much power left as in times of danger, to look to their own preservation, what need they think of any such matter.

Why but if the people give the power, then if abused, they may take it away also. I answer, no, that needs not, seeing they never gave away that power of self-preservation; so that this position of ours is the only way to keep people from such assaults, whereby the power of the prince is more fully established: whereas if people were kept from power of self-preservation which is natural to them, it were the only way to break all in pieces; for *Nullum violentum contra naturale est perpetuum*, no violent thing against nature is perpetual. Thus have I clearly opened our opinion, and proved our sentence, give me leave now to speak with the Doctor.

SECTION I.

THE Doctor saith, That in the proposition or principle, by the word resistance is meant, not a denying of obedience to the prince's command, but a rising in arms, a forcible resistance: this though clear in the question, yet I thought good to insinuate to take off that false imputation laid upon the divines of this kingdom, and upon all those that appear for the king in this cause.

Here the Doctor would insinuate in the very entrance of his book, that so he might the better *captare benevolentiam*, curry favour for the matter of his discourse following. That the divines of England are of his judgment. But if they be so, surely their judgment is lately changed: but indeed what divines are of his judgment? not the divines of Germany, not the divines of the French Protestant Churches, not the divines of Geneva, not of Scotland, not of Holland, not of England.

Not the divines of Germany, who say thus:* Governors

* Gubernato res ergo in iis rebus quæ cum decalogo et justis legibus pugnant nihil juris aut immunitatis habent præ cæteris hominibus privatis; et perpretrantes id quod malum est coguntur tam metuere ordinationem Dei gladium prestante

therefore in such things that are repugnant to the law of God, have no power or immunity above other private men, and they themselves commanding that which is evil, have no power or immunity above other private men, and they themselves commanding that which is evil, are as much bound to fear the ordinance of God, bearing the sword for the punishment of vice as other private men. For St. Paul saith, Rom. iii., that God did institute and ordain a power both of defending that which is good, and punishing that which is evil, and he commands that every soul, and so the governors themselves, would be subject to this ordinance of God that is bound to do good, if they would be defended by this ordinance of God, and not by their wicked deeds, make themselves liable to punishment.

Not the divines of the French Protestant Churches; witness their taking up of arms for the defence of themselves at Rochelle.

Not the divines of Geneva: for Calvin in his Institutions, iv. 10, saith thus: For though the correcting of unbridled government be revengment of the Lord, let us not by and by think that it is committed to us, to whom then is given no other commandment but to obey and suffer; I speak alway of private men, for if there be at this time any magistrates in the behalf of the people, (such as in the time were the Ephori that were set against the kings of Lacedemonia, or the tribunes of the people against the Roman consuls, or the demarchy against the senate at Athens, and the same power, which peradventure as things now are, the three States have in every realm when they hold their principal assemblies) I do so not forbid them according to their office to withstand the outraging licentiousness of kings, that I affirm, if they wink at kings wilfully ranging over, and treading down the poor commonalty, their dissembling is not without wicked breach of faith, because they deceitfully betray the liberty of the people whereof they know themselves appointed to be protectors by the ordinance of God.

ad vindictam nocentium quam alii homines privati nam Paulus Rom. 13. docet Deum ordinasse et instituisse potestatem illam gladio defendendi bonum, et puniendi malum, et præcipit ut omnis anima (et sic ipsi gubernatores tali Dei ordinationi sit subjecta, hoc est obligat ad faciendum bonum si velit defendi ista Dei ordinatione et non obsua facinora impia puniri. Madgeburgensis Cent i. lib. 20.

Not the divines of Holland, for we know what their practice is towards the king of Spain.

Not the divines of Scotland, for Buchanan saith,* For I remember twelve or more kings among ourselves, who for their sin and wickedness were either cast into prison during their life, or else eschewed the punishment by banishment. But this is that which we contend for, that the people, from whom the kings have all that they have, are greater than the kings; and the whole multitude have the same power over them, as they have over particular men out of the multitude. Witness also their late taking up arms when they came into England, which by the king and parliament is not judged rebellion.

Not our English divines, whose judgment Dr. Willet was acquainted with as well as our present doctor, who saith thus:† Touching the point of resistance, certain differences are to be observed: for when there is an extraordinary calling, as in the time of the judges; or when the kingdom is usurped without any right, as by Athaliah; or when the land is invaded by foreign enemies, as in the time of the Maccabees; or when the government is altogether elective, as the empire of Germany; in all these cases then is least question of resistance to be made by the general council of the states; yet where none of these concur, God forbid that the church and commonwealth should be left without remedy, the former conditions, namely, those alleged by Pareus, observed, when havoc is made of the commonwealth, or the church and religion. Thus also Dr. Bilson,‡ whose book was allowed by public authority and printed at Oxford, speaks: If a prince should go about to subject his kingdom to a foreign realm, or change the form of the commonweale from empery to tyranny, or neglect the laws established by common consent of prince and people, to execute his own pleasure in these and other cases which might be named; if the nobles and

* Cap. iv. p. 457. Quod autem ad nos proprie pertinet possum enumerare duodecim aut etiam amplius reges qui ob scelera et flagitia aut in perpetuum carcerem sunt damnati, aut ex ilio vel morte voluntaria justas sceletum pœnas fugerant nos autem id contendimus populum a quo reges nostri habent quicquid juris sibi vindicant regibus esse potentiorem: jusqua; idem in eos habere multitudinem quod illi in singulos a multitudine habent.—Buchanan de Gub. Regni apud Scotos.

† Dr. Willet's Commentary on Romans xiii. q. 17.

‡ Bilson's True Difference between Christian Subjection and Unchristian Rebellion, p. 5, 251.

commons join together to defend their ancient and accustomed liberties, regiments and laws, they may not well be accounted rebels. And the title of that page is, The law sometimes permits resistance; and the margin is, In some cases the nobles and commons may stand for their public regiment and laws of their kingdom.

All which judgments of several divines, I do not bring forth as if I were of their minds for deposing or punishing of princes by the people, which we plead not for in hereditary princes, but to shew how the Doctor's judgment is different from the judgment of the divines of all protestant countries, notwithstanding he would insinuate that our divines of England are of his judgment. And that our judgment is no new upstart opinion, you see what was the judgment of the divines in the council of Basil, where one of them saith thus: That in every well-ordered kingdom it ought specially to be desired, that the whole realm ought to be of more authority than the king; which if it happened contrary, it is not to be called a kingdom, but tyranny. So likewise doth he think of the church, &c.

And presently another of the divines of the same council saith thus: For the pope is in the church, as the king is in his kingdom; and for a king to be of more authority than his kingdom, this were too absurd: ergo, neither ought the pope to be above the church; for like as oftentimes kings which do wickedly rule the commonweale, and exercise cruelty, are deprived of their kingdoms, even so it is not to be doubted, but that the bishops of Rome may be deposed by the church, that is to say, by the general council. Neither do I herein allow them which attribute so large and ample authority unto kings, that they will not have them bound under any laws, for such as do so say are but flatterers, who do talk otherwise than they think. For albeit that they do say that the moderation of the law is always in the prince's power, that do I thus understand, that when as reason shall persuade, he ought to digress from the rigour of the law: for he is called a king who careth and provideth for the commonweale, taketh pleasure in the profit and commodity of the subjects, and in all his doings hath respect to the commodity of those over whom he ruleth, which if he do not, he is not to be accounted a king, but a tyrant, whose property it

is only to seek his own profit. For in this point a king differeth from a tyrant, that the one seeketh the commodity and profit of them whom he ruleth, the other only his own: the which to make more manifest, the cause is also to be alleged wherefore kings were ordained. At the beginning, as Cicero in his Offices saith, it is certain that there was a certain time when the people lived without kings; but afterward, when land and possessions began to be divided, according to the custom of every nation, then were kings ordained, for no other cause but only to execute justice. For when as at the beginning the common people were oppressed by rich and mighty men, they ran by and by to some good and virtuous man, who should defend the poor from injury, and ordain laws, whereby the rich and poor should dwell together. But when as yet under the rule of kings the poor were oft oppressed, laws were ordained and instituted, the which should judge neither for hatred nor favour, and give like care unto the poor as unto the rich: whereby we do understand not only the people but the king to be subject unto the laws. Then the Doctor tells us, that he is against the arbitrary way of government. For, saith he, we may and ought to deny obedience to such commands of the prince, as are unlawful by the law of God, yea, by the established laws of the kingdom.

This reason doth no way destroy arbitrary government, but rather erect it. For government is not said to be arbitrary, because the subjects may deny in word, and so left to suffer; for then the Turkish government is not arbitrary. For when the great Turk commands his subjects to do any thing, if they will deny and suffer for their denial, they may and do sometimes deny their obedience. If there be laws whereby a king is to rule, which he shall command his subjects to break, and his subjects are neither bound to obey him nor suffer by him, then his government is not arbitrary; but if there be laws made, and he may enforce his subjects either to keep them or break them, and punish them at his pleasure that shall refuse; and the whole kingdom bound in conscience, to suffer whatsoever he shall inflict for not breaking those laws; then is his government arbitrary: for arbitrary government is that whereby a prince doth rule *ex arbitrio;* which he doth, when either there is no law to rule by but his

own will, or when he hath a power to break those laws at his will, and to punish the subject at his pleasure for not breaking them. And in truth this latter is rather an arbitrary government than the former, as it shews more liberty in the will, that it hath a power to act when reason persuades to the contrary, than if there were no reason dissuading, and else there should be no arbitrary government in the world. For no state but hath some laws whereby they rule and are ruled, even the very Indians; only here lies the arbitrariness of a government, that notwithstanding the law, the ruler may, *pro arbitrio*, force his subjects according to his own pleasure. Then the Doctor saith,

We must consider, that they which plead for resistance in such a case as is supposed, do grant that it must be concluded upon, *omnibus ordinibus regni consentientibus*, that is, with the general and unanimous consent of the two houses.

I answer, These words are ill translated; for *omnes ordines regni* may *consentire*, and yet there may not be an unanimous and general consent of the members of the two houses as of one man.

If so that the Doctor grant this to be our sentence, why then doth he object against us, that the christians in the primitive times did not take up arms for the defence of themselves against the emperors, seeing they had not the consent of all the orders of the empire, and therefore their case is nothing to our's, as he pretends afterward. But if they had the whole senate of Rome with them, the representative body of the empire, then their case had been more like unto our's, and then no question but they would have taken up arms for the defence of themselves.

Then the Doctor saith, We suppose that the prince must be so and so disposed, bent to overthrow religion, liberties, laws, &c.

Here he takes that for granted which was never given; but we say not that we suppose, but seeing and finding experimentally, that a prince is misled by those about him that would overthrow religion, liberties, laws; that then it is lawful to take up arms to deliver the king from them, and to bring them to condign punishment. Then he proceeds to propound three generals, which he endeavoureth to prove in his following discourse, which I shall speak to in order.

SECTION II.

The Doctor saith, that the principle is untrue upon which they go that resist, and the conscience cannot find clear ground to rest upon for making resistance; for it hears the apostle expressly say, "Whosoever resist shall receive to themselves damnation."

In this his resolving of conscience, he endeavours to scare those that are tender with the word of damnation, and forbids this resistance upon pain of damnation. But the word in the Greek is rather to be translated judgment and punishment; and as Piscator observes,* thereby is not meant eternal damnation, but the punishment of the magistrate in this life: as appears by the following words, which are given by the apostle as a reason of the former, thus: "They that resist shall receive to themselves judgment, for rulers are not a terror to good works but to evil."

Then he proceeds to some examples of Scripture, which are brought by us to strengthen our doctrine, wherein he takes what he pleaseth, and leaves out what he lists. The first example alleged is that of the people rescuing Jonathan out of the hands of Saul; to which he answers, The people drew not into arms of themselves, but being there by Saul's command, did by a loving violence and importunity hinder the execution of a particular, passionate, and unlawful command.

Here the Doctor grants that the people used a violence, which is that that we would prove; but he doth not make it out by that scripture that it was a loving violence, which is the thing he should prove. Neither is there any thing in that place which doth argue that he was delivered by love, for it is said that the people rescued him; and what is the rescue by men in arms but a violence? According to the Doctor's position, they should not have rescued him, but only have defended themselves by prayers and tears, and left Jonathan to suffer; and therefore though he grants but a rescue by loving violence, he gives away his cause in the threshold of his work.

* Pœnam κρίμα sic malo quam condemnationem, puto enim hoc intelligendum de pœna, quam infert magistratos, sicut verba frequentis declarant, et sic verbum κρινεσθαι accipitur pro punire. 1 Cor. vi. 11.—Piscator, Rom. xiii.; 1 Sam. xiv.

The second example alleged, saith the Doctor, is David's resisting of Saul; to which he answers, that David's guard which he had about him, was only to secure his person against the cruelty of Saul, who sent to take away his life.

Therefore according to his own grounds, a parliament may take up a guard to secure their persons against the cut-throats that are about a king, and this is more than prayers, or tears, or mere sufferings, which the Doctor only allows in the following part of his discourse.

Herein also he gives his cause, for if David's guard was to secure his person against the cut-throats of Saul, if sent to take away his life, as he says, they could not secure David, but by fighting against those messengers of the king; and if he grants that messengers sent by the king, may be resisted by arms, he grants all that his adversaries contend for.

The Doctor saith, this practice of David's, was a mere defence without all violence offered to Saul.

But what think you then of David's words which he used to Achish, in 1 Sam. xxix. 8: "And David said unto Achish, What have I done, and what hast thou found in thy servant, so long as I have been with thee to this day, that I may not go fight against the enemies of my lord the king?" Amongst which enemies were Saul and his cut-throats, as the Doctor calls them. But,

His adversaries desire no more from this instance of David, but an hostile defence; for where there is an hostile defence, though there be no blows given, yet the defender would strike if there were cause, else why is he in arms?

David also was but one subject; and if it were lawful for one subject to defend himself by way of hostility, much more for the representative body of the whole kingdom.

According to the Doctor's principles, David ought to have done no more than to have sought God with tears and prayers, and given up himself in a suffering way to the fury of Saul. And, therefore, though it were merely an hostile defence, yet it is more than his doctrine teacheth, and so in granting of this, he is contrary to what he says afterwards.

For the matter of Keilah, the Doctor answers our supposition, as he calls it, with his own saying: but whether David would have defended Keilah against Saul, I leave to the conscience of the reader, considering that this only is made the

reason of his removing from Keilah, because the men of Keilah would not be faithful unto him: for he did not inquire of the Lord whether it were lawful for him to abide in Keilah, but having inquired whether Saul would come down against him, and whether Keilah would deliver him up into Saul's hand; he removed from Keilah, because the Lord answered him that they would deliver him up; not because it was unlawful for him to keep the city, but because the city would be false to him.

And whereas the Doctor saith, that in all this the example of David was extraordinary, for he was anointed and designed by the Lord to succeed Saul;

I answer, Though David was God's anointed, yet he was Saul's subject; and though God did extraordinarily protect David, yet his extraordinary protection doth not argue that his practice was unlawful, but doth rather argue it to be more lawful and commendable: for God will not give extraordinary protections to unlawful actions, and if David's demeanour herein was extraordinary, then he had an extraordinary command for what he did. For it is not lawful for a man to step from God's ordinary way, but by some special commandment from God; and if he had such a command, then how is that true, which the Doctor saith afterward, that there is no command in Scripture for such a practice or kind of resistance as this.

In the words immediately before, the Doctor saith, This practice of David was a mere defence without all violence offered to Saul; and if so, how was his demeanour in standing out against Saul a work extraordinary? If it were a work extraordinary, then it was not a mere defence without all violence, for that is an ordinary work of the subjects toward the king.

Then the Doctor comes to other examples of his adversaries, whereby they contend, as he says, for resistance, as that of the high priest resisting the king in the temple, and Elisha shutting the door against the king's messenger that came to take away his life; to the first he says, that the high priest did no more than what every minister may and ought to do, if the king should attempt to administer the sacrament, that is, reprove him, and keep the elements from him.

But if that were all, the priests should not have been com-

mended for their valour, but their faithfulness: and, 2 Chron. xxvi. 17, it is said, that "Azariah the priest went after him, and with him fourscore priests of the Lord that were valiant men." In that they were commended here for valour, it shews that their work was not only reproof but resistance.

And whereas he says, That they thrust him out of the temple, because God's hand was first upon him, smiting him with leprosy, and by that discharging him of the kingdom also.

I answer, How does that appear out of Scripture, that the king's being smitten with the leprosy was an actual discharge from his crown?

Then the Doctor saith, Elisha's example speaks very little, but let us thence, saith he, take occasion to say, that personal defence is lawful against the sudden and illegal assaults of such messengers, yea of the prince himself, thus far, to ward his blows, to hold his hand, and the like, &c.

If you may ward his blows, and hold his hands, this is more than praying and crying and suffering.

Suppose the king hath an army with him, how can you hold an army's hands without an army? and therefore, according to his own words, it is lawful for the subjects considered state-wise, to raise an army to defend themselves.

But this instance of Elisha tells us, that messengers sent by the king to take away a man's life may be taken prisoners; is not that resistance? for Elisha said, "See you how this son of a murderer hath sent to take away my head? look, when the messenger cometh, shut the door, and hold him fast at the door," 2 Kings vi. 32.

Then the Doctor comes to answer a similitude of the body natural and politic, whereby it is argued, that as the body natural, so the body politic may defend itself: to which the Doctor answers, As the natural body defends itself against an outward force, but strives not by schism or contention within itself, so may the body politic against an outward power, but not as now, by one part of it set against the head, and another part of the same body.

Now, therefore, here the Doctor granteth that it is lawful for the natural body to defend itself against an outward force, and what is the militia for, especially, but against foreigners?

Then the Doctor distinguisheth betwixt a personal defence and a general resistance by arms. He saith, A person de-

fenee may be without all offence, and doth not strike at the order and power that is over us, as general resistance by arms doth, which doth immediately strike at that order which is the life of the commonweale, which, saith he, makes a large difference betwixt Elisha's shutting of the door against the king's messenger, and their resisting the king by armed men.

But why was Elisha's defence personal? Because he was but one person that was defended. Then if one man defend himself against a thousand in arms, that is a personal defence; or was it personal because only the person of the prophet made defence, and had none to assist him? Not so, because he spake to the elders to shut the door and hold him fast. And if this act of Elisha was contrary to the king's command, why did it not as immediately strike at the order and power that was over him, as our resistance doth now? Indeed if the subjects as private men, strengthened with no authority, should gather together in a rude multitude to oppose laws and governors, then that work should strike immediately at the order and power and life of a state; but that the state should send out an army to bring in delinquents to be tried at the highest court of the kingdom, that justice and judgment may run down like water which hath been stanched up, is rather to confirm and strengthen the order and power of authority; and so it is in our case.

Then the Doctor proceeds to some scriptures, wherewithal he thinks to strengthen his opinion; let us follow him: First, saith he, we have the two hundred and fifty princes of the congregation gathering the people against Moses and Aaron, Num. xvi. 3, and perishing in their sin.

I answer, that Moses and Aaron had not neglected their trust; and our question is in the general, laying aside all respect to our sovereign, whether a prince neglecting his trust, and doing that through his bad council which may tend to the ruin of a state, may not by the whole state be resisted therein? Now see how extremely wide this instance is from this question.

First of all, the two hundred and fifty princes of the congregation were not the whole people, nor the representative body, nor any employed by the whole people.

Secondly, Moses and Aaron had not offended, but were innocent.

The Doctor answers, The other supposed they had him guilty, and that is enough, it seems.

It seems so indeed, by him, that supposals are enough to charge the parliament; but with us supposals are not enough to charge our prince.

The Doctor argues from 1 Sam. viii. 11, saying, There the people are let to understand how they would be oppressed under kings, yet all that violence and injustice that should be done unto them, is no just cause of resistance, for they have no remedy left, but crying to the Lord, verse 18.

In this scripture Samuel shewed them what their king would do, not what he should do; and when he saith at verse 18, "You shall cry out in that day because of your king which ye shall have chosen you, and the Lord will not hear you in that day." He telleth them not what should be their duty, but what should be their punishment; for he doth not say, Then shall you cry unto the Lord, and he shall hear you; as is the manner of Scripture when it enjoineth a duty to annex a promise of acceptance: but he saith, "You shall cry in that day because of your king, and the Lord will not hear you in that day;" setting forth the punishment of that their choice.

The Doctor saith, that according to Scripture the people might not be gathered together, either for civil assemblies or for war, but by his command who had the power of the trumpet, that is the supreme, as Moses was, Num. x.

I answer, The parliament hath sounded no trumpet for war but what the supreme power hath given commandment for. For the Doctor saith (Sect. I., p. 2), That in the established laws of the land, we have the prince's will and consent given upon good advice, and to obey him against the laws, were to obey him against himself, his sudden will against his deliberate will: so that if there be any established laws whereby the king hath given his former deliberate consent for the blowing of the trumpet that now sounds, then this objection is but a false alarum.

Now though I be no lawyer, and must refer you much to what the parliament hath said who are the judges of the law, yet thus much I can tell you, as consonant to right reason, that unless the parliament have a power to send for delinquents and accused persons to be tried in that highest court

of justice; I say, unless they have such a power, they are no parliament. The king hath often protested to maintain the liberties and privileges of parliament: now suppose a man be complained of to the parliament for some notorious crime, it is granted by all that the parliament hath a power to send a serjeant-at-arms for him, and if he refuse to come, that serjeant-at-arms hath power to call in more help; and if the delinquent shall raise twenty, or thirty, or a hundred men to rescue himself, then the parliament hath power to send down more messengers by force to bring up the delinquent; and if they may raise a hundred, why may they not, upon the like occasion, raise a thousand, and so ten thousand? And if the king shall protect these delinquents, that is by his sudden will, the Doctor saith, his deliberate will in the law is to be preferred before his sudden will; now this is the known law of the kingdom, and the constant practice of all parliaments, that they have a power to send for their delinquents; and indeed how else can they be a court of justice, if they cannot force the accused to appear before them? And therefore, according to the Doctor's own principles, the king's deliberate will being in his law, he himself hath sounded this trumpet, though by his sudden will, as he calls it, he is pleased to sound a retreat. For though the Doctor saith that the parliament takes up arms against the king, yet herein he doth but abuse them, mistake the question, deceive many.

The truth is, they do but in this army now on foot under the earl of Essex, send for those delinquents that have been obnoxious to the state; and to deny them such a power as this, is to deny them the very being of a parliament; for by the same reason that they may send one serjeant-at-arms for one, they may send one thousand for one thousand.

Then the Doctor tells us, that it is a marvellous thing, that among so many prophets reprehending the kings of Israel for idolatry, cruelty and oppression, none should call upon the elders of the people for this duty of resistance.

I cannot but wonder at the Doctor's marvelling: for what can be more plain than that text, 2 Kings vi. 32, "But Elisha sat in his house and the elders sat with him, and the king sent a man from before him, &c., but when the messenger came to him, he said to the elders, See how this son of a murderer hath sent to take away my head, look when the

messenger cometh, shut the door, and hold him fast at the door." The Doctor wonders if resistance were lawful, why no prophet should call upon the elders of the people for this duty of resistance, here is the prophet Elisha calling on the elders to imprison the king's messenger.

Then lastly the Doctor saith that scripture Rom. xiii, " Let every soul be subject to the higher power." and ver. 2, " Whosoever resists the power, resists the ordinance of God, and they that resist shall receive to themselves damnation," doth above all give us a clear manifestation upon the point.

Now therefore let us here join issue, and if this place which the Doctor makes the very hinge which all his discourse moves upon, be not clearly and fully against him, then let the consciences of men be satisfied in all that he says, but if it be against him, then let them reject all that he affirms.

He would prove from hence that it is not lawful for any man to resist with a forcible resistance the command of a king, though he command what is unlawful, because, says he, That this commandment was given unto the christians to be obedient unto Roman emperors whose commands were merely destructive to the christian religion, and those powers nothing but subverters of that which was good and just.

That there is no such thing commanded in this scripture I prove by these reasons.

Because the power that every soul is here commanded to be subject to, and not to resist, is that power which is not a terror to good works but to evil. The third verse being made a reason of the second, verse 2, saith, " Whosoever resists the power, resists the ordinance of God, and they that resist, shall receive to themselves judgment;" then the reason is given: " for rulers are not a terror to good works, but to evil," verse 3., and therefore the subjection commanded, and resistance forbidden, is not in things that are unlawful, and contrary to the law of God. The power that we are commanded to be subject to, and not to resist, is the ordinance of God, and the minister thereof is the ordinance of God to us for good, verse 4., for so says the apostle, speaking of the ruler that we are to obey, " he is the minister of God to us for good: but when he commands a thing unlawful, and contrary to the law of God, he is not the minister of God to us for

good, therefore in this scripture there is no such thing commanded us to be subject to, and not to resist the ungodly command of princes.

And if it be said that though his commands are unlawful, yet he may be a penal ordinance of God for our good.

I answer, that in this scripture we are not commanded to submit unto a penal ordinance, because the submission enjoined here by the apostle reaches to all times and places; and all times and places have not their authority and government by way of a penal ordinance.

Therein the apostle commands us in this scripture to be subject, and not to resist, wherein the magistrates are God's ministers, but in unlawful commands they are not properly and actively God's ministers, though God may make use of them: though in regard of their place they may be God's minister, yet in regard of the thing commanded they are not; when they command things that are evil and contrary to law. Now so we are commanded to be obedient as they are in that action God's ministers.

"For this cause pay you tribute also, for they are God's ministers attending continually upon this very thing." Ver. 6.

It appears by all the first verses of chap. xiii., that the subjection and obedience here commanded by the apostle is not passive obedience or subjection, but active; for the apostle having said, "Let every soul be subject to the higher power, and not resist," verse 1, 2., he saith at verse 3, "Why wilt thou not then be afraid of the power, do that which is good," and at verse 6, "For this cause pay you tribute also." But if the king command any thing that is unlawful and sinful, the Doctor saith, we are to be subject only passively: therefore the subjection commanded, and resistance forbidden in the Scripture, not such as relates to the unlawful command of princes, as he affirms when the Roman emperor commanded things destructive to the christian religion, accordingly Hierom upon the place, *Ostendit apostolus in his quæ recta sunt judicibus obediendum; non in illi quæ religioni contraria sunt.* And besides the Doctor himself confesseth, p. 11, That this prohibition was not temporary, but perpetual: therefore to reach unto those times, when the prince should command that which was good, therefore the subjection here commanded was active subjection, and not merely passive.

But the Doctor saith, he will free this place from all exceptions, and therefore he saith first, I may suppose the king supreme, as St. Peter calls him, or the higher power, as St. Paul here, though it be by some now put to the question.

And is it but now put to the question? What shall we say then of that speech of Dr. Bilson? By superior powers ordained of God, we understand not only princes, but all public states and regiments, somewhere the people, somewhere the nobles, having the same intrust to the sword that princes have in this kingdom: and from this place Rom. xiii., we are commanded to be obedient to those that are in authority. Suppose we be in some country where there is no king but states, doth not this Scripture command us subjection there also? How therefore by the higher powers here is meant only the king? The Doctor acknowledgeth that the parliament is the highest court of justice in the kingdom; and the highest court of justice must needs fall within the compass of these words, the higher powers: unto which, by virtue of this commandment of the apostle we are to be obedient. How then is this true which the Doctor saith, That by the higher power is meant the king only or supreme, in opposition to the parliament.

But I prove it, saith he. For St. Peter's distinction comprehends all that are in authority, the king as supreme, and all that are sent by him, 1 Pet. ii. 13, in which letter ranks are the two houses of parliament, being sent by him, or sent for by him, and by his writ sitting there.

Calvin* and other interpreters herein is contrary unto the Doctor, who saith thus; Those that refer the pronoun *him*, to the king are much deceived: for this is that common reason, whereby the authority of all magistrates is commanded; because they do rule by the commandment of God, and are sent by him: by him, being referred to by God by other interpreters, and to the king with the Doctor.

Then the Doctor saith secondly: In this text of the apostle it is said, all persons under the higher powers, are ex-

* Nam qui pronomen (eum) ad regem reserunt multum falluntur. Estigitur hoc communi ratio ad commendandam omnium magistratum authoritate quod mandato Dei præsunt et ab eo mittuntur unde sequitur quem admodum et Paulus docet Deo resistere qui ab eo ordinata non se obedientur submittunt Calvin in 2 Pet. i. 13.

pressly forbidden to resist; for, whosoever, in verse 2., must be as large as the, every soul, in the first.

That which the Doctor aims at in these words, is to make the whole parliament subject unto the king. And who denies them to be the king's subjects; and that as men, and Englishmen, they should not be subject unto the king? But if he means, that as a parliament, they should be subject to enact and do whatever he commandeth, then how is that true which he saith in pages 25, 26, That there is such an excellent temper of the three states in parliament, there being a power of denying in each of them: for what might follow if the king and lords without the commons, or these and the lords without the king, might determine, &c. Or if he means, that as a parliament jointly considered, they are to submit passively unto the unlawful commands of the king, and that passive obedience is commanded, only here in this Rom. xiii, then this is to straiten the text, as never any yet hath straitened it: neither indeed can any conscience think, that when the apostle commands us to be subject unto the higher powers, his meaning is only by way of suffering in his unlawful commands, and not by way of obedience in his lawful commands.

The Doctor saith, That the Roman state might challenge more by the fundamentals of that state, than our great council, he thinks, will or can.

But what then? Is it not therefore lawful for the subjects now to resist the higher power commanding things unlawful, because the apostle commanded there that we should not resist the higher powers in things that are lawful? Herein lies the Doctor's continued mistake: he thinks this command of the apostle was given to the christians to be obedient to Nero in his unlawful commands; whereas the apostle's command in this place reaches to all times, and is made to all that are christians: although they did live under Nero, yet it does not follow, that the apostle commanded them to be subject to him in unlawfuls. If indeed Nero's commandments were only unlawful, and this direction of the apostle was made only to the christians in those times, and that the subjection commanded were only suffering subjection, then this scripture might make much for his purpose. But though Nero was an enemy to the christians, yet some of his

commandments were lawful; and this direction of the apostle was not made only to the christians in those times, but as a general rule for all good men: and the obedience and subjection here commanded, was not only to be passive, but active, which I have proved already, wherein I also appeal to the Doctor's own conscience whether that this scripture doth not command active obedience and subjection to the prince, and therefore his interpretation thereof is exceeding wide, and his argument null.

Then the Doctor saith, If it be replied that that prohibition was temporary, and fit for those times, as it is said by some whom he answers;

I answer, that the Doctor here makes his own adversary, and fights with him. Many other answers he refutes also, it being not in my purpose to make good every pamphlet, but to satisfy men's consciences: only I cannot but here take notice, that the Doctor professes against arbitrary power, or such as conquerors use, as he did, (Sect. I,) profess, that he was much against arbitrary government. But I wish the Doctor would be pleased to consider his own principles, as he delivers them in these papers: for he says: That the Roman emperors were absolute monarchs, and did indeed rule absolutely and arbitrarily, and that they did make themselves such absolute monarchs by conquest. Then he says, This crown of England is descended by three conquests. And therefore, if one conquest is a reason for the arbitary government of the emperor, he cannot but think, though he conceal his mind, that his government also ought to be much more arbitrary.

What else remains in this section, I have either spoken to it already, or shall more aptly in the following discourse.

SECTION III.

THE Doctor saith, That for the proving this power of resistance there is much speech used about the fundamentals of this power; which because they lie low and unseen by vulgar eyes, being not written laws, the people are made to

belicve that they are such as they that have the power to put new laws upon them, say they are.

Herein he turns the metaphor of fundamentals too far, as if because the fundamentals of a house cannot be seen, therefore the fundamental laws cannot be seen; which are not therefore called fundamental, because they lay under ground, but because they are the most essential upon which all the rest are built, as fundamental points of religion are most seen, and yet fundamental.

He says, these fundamentals are not written laws. The parliament say they are, and produce several written laws for what they do. The Doctor and those that are of his sense say, they are not: who should the people be ruled by in this case, but by the parliament, sceing the Doctor himself saith, none are so fit to judge of the laws as they?

Then the Doctor saith, Those that plead for this power of resistance, lay the first ground-work of their fundamentals thus; The power is originally in and from the people; and if when by election they have intrusted a prince with a power, he will not discharge his trust, then it falls to the people: or, as in this kingdom to the two houses of parliament, the representative body of this kingdom, to see to it: they may re-assume the power. This is the bottom of their fundamentals, as they are now discovered to the people.

We distinguish, as he doth, the power abstractively considered from the qualifications of that power, and the designation of a person to that power. The power abstractively considered, is from God, not from the people: but the qualifications of that power, according to the divers ways of executing in several forms of government, and the designation of the person that is to work under this power, is of man: and therefore the power itself we never offer to take out of God's hand, but leave it where we found it. But if the person intrusted with that power shall not discharge his trust, then indeed it falls to the people, or the representative body of them to see to it; which they do as an act of self-preservation, not an act of jurisdiction over their prince. It is one thing for them to see to it, so as to preserve themselves for the present, and another thing for so to re-assume the power, as to put the prince from his office. As for example, suppose there be a ship full of passengers at the

sea in the time of a storm, which is in great danger to be cast away through the negligence and fault of the steersman; the passengers may for their own present safety, that they may not all be cast away, desire the steersman to stand by, and cause another to stand at the stern for the present, though they do not put the steersman out of his office. And this is our case: we do not say that the prince not discharging his trust, the people and parliament are so to re-assume the power, as if the prince were to be put from his office; which the Doctor not distinguishing thus, would obtrude upon us; but only that the prince being abused by those that are about him, whereby the charge is neglected, the people, or representative body, may so look to it for the present, setting some at the stern, till the storm be over, lest the whole suffer shipwreck. And herein the Doctor does exceedingly wrong us, disputing against us, as if we went about to depose our king, which we contend not for, nor from these principles can be collected.

Then the Doctor saith, That however the fundamentals of this government are much talked of, this is according to them, the fundamental in all kingdoms and governments; for they say, power was every where from the people at first, and so this would serve no more for the power of resistance in England than in France or Turkey.

If it be the fundamental in all kingdoms, and governments, then it seems it does not lie so low, and unseen, as the Doctor said before, because all the world sees it.

Whereas he saith, This will serve no more for power of resistance in England, than in France or Turkey: he seems to insinuate that France and Turkey have no such power of resistance: but who doth not know that the protestants in France are of this judgment with us and practice? witness that business of Rochelle.

Then the Doctor saith, We will clear up these two particulars, whether the power be so originally, and chiefly from the people as they would have it; then whether they may not upon just causes re-assume that power; and saith, first of the original of power which they would have to be so from the people, as that it shall be from God only by a permissive approbation.

If the Doctor takes power for magistracy itself and suffi-

ciency of authority to command or coerce in the governing of a people abstractively considered, as distinguished from the qualification of that power, according to the divers ways of executing it in several forms of government, and the designation thereof unto some person, then I do not believe there is any man in the parliament, whom the Doctor especially disputes against, or of those who write for them, that hold that the power is from the people, and by permission and approbation only of God; neither can they: for in that they contend so much for the parliament, it argues they are of opinion that authority and power in the abstract is from God himself: and for the designation of a person, or qualification of the power according to several forms of government, the Doctor himself grants it in this Section to be the invention of man, and by God's permissive approbation.

Then the Doctor comes to prove this by three arguments, That power as distinguished from the qualification thereof, and designation is of divine institution.

Wherein he might have saved his labour in those three arguments, for none doth deny it: yet we will examine what he saith in the arguments: he saith, That the apostle speaks expressly, "that the powers are of God," Rom. xiii. 1, "and the ordinance of God," verse 2, by which power he understands the power itself of magistracy as distinguished from the qualifications thereof or designation of any person thereto.

And if so, how is that true which he saith before (Sect. 11), where he saith, that the higher power in Paul, Rom. xiii., is all one with the king as supreme, 1 Peter ii. 12; whereas he confesseth, that the government of a king or prince is the qualification of the power? so doth the apostle himself, calling it, ανθρωπινη κτισει, a human constitution.

If by power here, Rom. xiii., be understood magistracy and authority itself in the abstract, then when we are commanded to submit thereunto, the meaning cannot be that the christians in those times must submit to the unlawful commands of the emperor, as the Doctor would have it before, seeing the way of governing by an emperor or prince, is but the qualification of the power; surely if by power we are now to understand magistracy and authority itself in the abstract, then all that is commanded in Rom. xiii. to submit thereunto, is to acknowledge a magistracy, and then all the Doctor's arguments, and

his strength whereby he would prove that we may not make forcible resistance to unlawful commands, from Rom. xiii., falls to the ground.

Then the Doctor tells us, in the same argument, This power is called an ordinance of man, subjective; wherein he lays this distinction, that power is considered two ways, either as it is subjective amongst men, and so it is ανθρωπινη κτισις, or else as it is considered causaliter, and so it is απο Θεου, of God.

But this is too strait, for it is called ανθρωπινη κτισις, not only because it is amongst men, but it is ανθρωπινη κτισις, a human constitution, in four respects: 1. Because it is so causaliter, the form of several governments, being an invention of man. 2. Subjective, because it is amongst men. 3. Objective, because it is busied about men. 4. Finaliter, because it is ordained for man and the commonweale, yet power itself is the constitution and ordinance of God.

Then the Doctor proves, that the power is of God, because the magistrate is called the minister of God, Rom. xiii. 4.

But here he slips from the power itself to the person designed to the power; for the power itself is not called the minister of God, which was the thing he undertook for to prove.

And so in this third argument, where he saith to the same purpose, speak those other places: By me kings reign; I have said ye are gods: yet he confesseth, that the forms of government by kings and emperors is an invention of man, in the first argument.

But now suppose the Doctor had proved that the power, abstractively considered, is of God's institution; and had granted that the qualifications of this governing power in several forms of government, and the designation of the person thereto be of man; what hath he gotten from or gained upon his imagined adversary? For suppose that his adversary should say, that they may depose their prince, if he neglect his trust, (which is not our case,) because that his power is originally from them; how doth that which the Doctor hath said, weaken this argument? For though he hath proved that the power of itself is from God, yet having granted that the forms of that government, and the designation of a person thereto, is from the people, they may as well urge and say, therefore we may alter the government, and may depose the

person, because he was of our designing, as well as they might have argued so, if the power itself had been from themselves.

Then the Doctor saith, The imputation is causeless which the pleaders on the other side do heedlessly and ignorantly lay upon us divines, as if we cried up monarchy, and that only government to be *jure Divino*.

To let pass reproaches, how can we think otherwise if we should believe all that the Doctor saith? For he proves that the power mentioned, Rom. xiii., is *jure Divino*, and yet he saith (Sect. II.), that the higher power there, is all one with the supreme, or king, in Peter. But this, with the nature of monarchial government, we shall come to consider more aptly in that which follows.

The remaining part of this section is but to prove that the power itself is of God, that the qualification and designation was firstly of man, which we all grant.

SECTION IV.

Now we come to the forfeiture, saith the Doctor, of this power: If the prince, say they, will not discharge his trust, then it falls to the people, or the two houses, the representative body of the people, to see to it, and to re-assume that power, and thereby to resist. This they conceive to follow upon the derivation of power from the people by virtue of election, and upon the stipulation or covenant of the prince with the people, as also to be necessary in regard of those means of safety which every state should have within itself. We will examine them in order.

Herein he doth charge us with this opinion, that we hold it lawful for the people to re-assume their power, in case the prince dischargeth not his trust; making the world believe that we contend for deposing of kings, or that the parliament goes about such a work as that is; for what else is it for the people or parliament to re-assume their power from the prince? whereas we desire all the world should know, that we now take up arms as an act of self-preservation, not endeavouring or intending to thrust the king from his office,

though for the present the state sets some under the king at the stern, till the waters be calmed, as we said before.

Then the Doctor saith, Concerning the derivation of power, we answer, if it be not from the people, as they will have it, and as before it was cleared, then can there be no re-assuming of this power by the people.

How doth this follow? for all that the Doctor had cleared before was this: that power, abstractively considered, was from God, not from the people. Now let us see whether the clearing of that will bring in such a consequence as this, that there can be no re-assuming of this power by the people. If it will enforce such a consequence, then the syllogism is this: If power and magistracy and authority itself be of God, and the forms of government and designation of persons be of man, then there can be no re-assuming of this power by the people. But the power itself and magistracy is of God, the forms of government and designation of persons is of man, saith the Doctor (Sect. III). Therefore there can be no re-assuming this power by the people, saith the Doctor (Sect. IV).

Will not his imagined adversaries easily deny the sequel? indeed if he had proved that neither the power, nor the qualification, nor the designation were of man but of God, and cleared that first, then he had taken that argument from his adversaries; but seeing he hath granted that the ways of government and designation of persons to be of man, though he hath proved the power itself of God, sure he hath no way stopped the course of their arguments or practice against whom he disputes.

Then he comes to shew the inconsequence, and saith, If the people should give the power so absolutely as they would have it, leaving nothing to God in it but approbation, yet could they not therefore have right to take that power away, for many things which are altogether in our disposing before we part with them, are not afterward in our power to recal them.

He supposeth we go to take the power away from the prince, which we do not, as hath been said.

There is a difference between disposing of things by way of donation or sale, and disposing of things by way of trust: true, those things which we dispose of by way of donation or

sale are not afterward in our power to recal, as they were before the donation or sale; as if a man give his child land, or sell land to his neighbour, it is not in the power of the father or neighbour to recal or dispose of the land as before the donation or sale. But if a thing be disposed of by way of trust, then if the fiduciary or trusted shall not discharge his trust, it is in the power, at least of the trusting, to look to the matter himself; as in case that a steward be trusted with a man's house. And thus when any government is set up in a land by a people, they trust the governor, they do not give away their liberties or rights, but trust them in the hand of the governor, who if abused that he do not perform his stewardly trust as he should, the people, or representative body, as an act of self-preservation, I do not say as an act of jurisdiction, are to look to it. Neither herein do they so reassume their power, as to take away any thing which they gave to the king, but so as to actuate that power which they always had left in themselves, as the power of self-preservation.

Then the Doctor saith: Although it were as they would have it, that they give the power, and God approves, yet because the Lord's hand also and his oil is upon the person elected to the crown, and then he is the Lord's anointed, and the minister of God, those hands of the people which are used in lifting him up to the crown, may not again be lifted up against him, either to take the crown from his head, or the sword out of his hand.

If this be true, then princes that are merely elective, and not hereditary, and whose coming to the crown is merely pactional, cannot be deposed by the people, for they are the Lord's anointed, and the ministers of God; and this is contrary to the Doctor himself, who in this same section saith thus: Although such arguments (speaking of the forfeiture of the prince's power in the next line before) may seem to have some force in states merely elective and pactional, yet can it never be made to appear by any indifferent understanding, that the like must obtain in this kingdom. And to this purpose, saith the Doctor, P. Paræus excuseth what his father had written, on Rom. xiii., in the point of resistance; that it was to be understood of elective and pactional government, and

when the government is elective and pactional, are not the princes the ministers and the Lord's anointed?

Then the Doctor saith: How shall the conscience be satisfied that this their argument grounded upon election, and the derivation of power from the people, can have place in this kingdom, when as the crown not only descends by inheritance, but also hath so often been settled by conquest in the lines of Saxons, Danes and Normans?

I answer, How can the conscience be satisfied in that which the Doctor writes in this his book, where he acknowledgeth, in this section, that it is probable, indeed, that kings at the first were by choice here as elsewhere; and in Sect. V. saith, that the forms of several governments, whereof princedom is one, are from the invention of man, and so by derivation from man?

The Doctor's great design, I perceive, by his frequent touching this matter, is to make our king a king by conquest; for (in Sect. III.) he saith, God's vicegerents here on earth came into their office either by immediate designation, the election of the people, succession and inheritance, or by conquest; now he cannot say that our king came in by immediate designation, and he doth not say that our princes lay claim to the crown by virtue of their election, and if by inheritance, then by the right of an election or by conquest; for by mere inheritance a man hath no more than what those first had whom he doth succeed, inheritance being but the continuation of the first right upon the children; the right of election he doth disclaim, and of derivation of power from the people, therefore the right that he makes our prince to have to the crown is only the right of a conquest: then if any man's sword be longer or stronger than his, he may quickly have as much right to the crown as the king; which opinion of the Doctor's for my own part I must abhor from; what danger will it not expose our dread sovereign to? Did not Athaliah reign as a conqueress six years; and who knows not that she was lawfully thrust from the throne again by a stronger hand than her own; mere conquest being nothing else but an unjust usurpation? And if the conqueror rule the whole kingdom, and keep them under by conquest only, why may not the subject rise and take up arms to deliver them-

selves from that slavery? Thus doth the Doctor open the door to greater resistance than those that he disputes against.

Though a prince should hold his right by conquest as the next right, yet if he hold it also by derivation from the people as the remote right, and the last be the more natural and just way; then arguments grounded on that remote right may be more valid, than those that are grounded on the next right. But thus it is with our prince, who although he doth succeed the conqueror, yet doth also take in the voluntary and free consent of the commonweale unto his crown, which a mere conqueror doth not, but rules without the consent and against the good liking of the people.

Then the Doctor saith, We tell them the Roman emperors were not to be resisted; they reply that they were absolute monarchs: was it any other way than by force and arms, the way that the Saxons, Danes and Normans made themselves masters of this people? Now in these words we see the Doctor's mind plainly, that he contends for an arbitrary government; for he saith, page 11, that the emperors did rule absolutely and arbitrarily, and here he saith, How came they of subjects to be absolute monarchs? was it any other ways than by force and arms? the way that the Saxons, Danes and Normans made themselves masters of this people, in whose right and lines, he saith before, the crown descended upon our king. What can be more plain than this for an arbitrary government? It seems the Doctor was conscious to himself that herein he had discovered himself, and therefore he says this: I speak not as if the kings of this land might rule as conquerors: but that will not heal it.

Then the Doctor comes to the matter of capitulation, or covenant, or oath, which the prince taketh to confirm what he promised; which, saith he, are so alleged, as if the breach or non-performance of the prince's part, were a forfeiture of his power. But we answer, saith he, the words capitulation or covenant, are now much used, to make men believe the king's admittance to the crown is altogether conditional; whereas our king is king before he comes to the coronation.

Herein the Doctor mistakes us: for though we acknowledge a covenant, yet we cannot be so weak as to think that any breach of the covenant is a forfeiture of the king's power, for then the best man could not be king long; but we

first affirm a covenant, for though the kings of Israel were monarchs, and immediately designed by God himself to their office, and so one would think there should be no need of their coming to the crown by a covenant, yet to shew the necessity of this oath and covenant, when they came to their crowns, they also took an oath, and entered into covenant with the people to protect their rights and persons. 1 Chron. xi. 3. We say that this mutual covenant betwixt the king and the people, binds the king to the people, as well as the people to the king; and that therefore it is as well unlawful for a king by force to oppress his subjects, and to take up arms against them, as for the subjects to take up arms against him.

That hence it follows that the king's power is limited.

From this covenant and capitulation we say, thereby it appears that the people do commit a trust to the king: which,

If he doth neglect, as he doth not always forfeit his power, so neither are they to forfeit their right of looking to themselves for the present. And therefore all that the Doctor says, that we urge the covenant and capitulation so much, as if our king were a conditional king; and that which he brings to prove that he is a king before coronation, is needlessly urged against us: for we say and speak plainly, that though the right that our king hath to the crown, is firstly by derivation of power from the people, yet he hath his right by inheritance, and is not such an elective king as is chosen for a time, and his life, if he rule well; and so his right to end in himself, but to continue upon his posterity: for the people do derive their power two ways, either so as to choose a man into office for his life only in case he rule well, and so our king's predecessors were not brought to the crown; or so as to commit the trust of the state unto him, to descend upon his posterity, which when his posterity comes to, hath both a right of election and inheritance; it being the right of inheritance as it is left by their forefathers, and the right of election in regard of its principle from whence it flowed: and thus we do estate our king in his throne, hereby establishing him more sure therein, and than the opposite opinion of conquest doth.

Then the Doctor tells us, that though the king do break

his covenant, or not make performance thereof, yet a forfeiture of his power doth not follow from thence: for, saith he, could they in this covenant shew us such an agreement between the king and his people, that in case he will not discharge his trust, then it shall be lawful for the states of the kingdom by arms to resist, and provide for the safety thereof, it were something.

To which I answer, we do not press the forfeiture of the king's power upon non-performance of covenant, but we say this, that the end of his trust being to look to the kingdom, though there be no such words expressed in the covenant or agreement betwixt the king and his people, that in case he shall not discharge his trust, then it shall be lawful for the state of the kingdom by arms to resist, and to look to their own safety: their safety being the end of this trust, and *ratio legis* being *lex*, in reason that must be implied. There is a covenant stricken between a man and a woman at marriage: when they marry one another, it is not verbally expressed in their agreement, that if one commit adultery, that party shall be divorced; and yet we know that that covenant of marriage carries the force of such condition. What follows in this section is either a repetition of what was before, or what in substance we have answered already.

Only at the last the Doctor moveth this question, What then if the prince take to himself more power, or not perform what he is bound to? and answers, Then may the subjects use all fair means as are fit to use: cries to God, petitions to the prince, denial of obedience to his lawful commands, denial of subsidies, &c., but are left without all means to compel by force or resistance.

The subjects are considered two ways: socially; severally.

Severally, as private men; and so it hath been taken for granted, that in case of oppression the subjects have used no arms but tears and prayers. Before this parliament, how many oppressions were there upon the people, both in their estates and in God's worship, by those who had unduly gotten authority from the king; and yet we saw no forcible resistance made, but every man quietly subjecting himself under that suffering condition.

Socially and jointly; and so there is other remedy for the subjects than only prayers and tears, and that the subjects

are considered in this posture wherein now we are, professing that we take not up arms as we are private men barely, but as subjects united and joined in the representative body of the kingdom, which never yet was counted unlawful by any divines, as I have shewed before.

SECTION V.

The Doctor comes unto that which he calls our last reason, the safety of the kingdom, where he saith, first, that we have many weapons sharpened for this resistance at the Philistines' forge, our arguments being borrowed from the Roman schools, as he saith.

But there is much difference between us and the papists in this particular. For, the papists contend for the lawfulness of deposing kings, which we do not. The papists plead for a power to depose a prince in case that he turn heretic, which we do not; for we hold, that though a prince may leave and change his religion, the subjects are not thereby excused from their allegiance. The papists do not only hold it lawful to depose and thus to depose their prince, but to kill him also; yea, that a private man invested with the pope's authority may do thus: all which we abhor from. Why, therefore, should the Doctor charge us thus, and make the world believe that we favour the popish doctrine in this particular? But as the parliament's army is scandalized by the adversaries, saying, There are many papists in their army to help on their designs; so is our doctrine scandalized by our adversaries, saying that we make use of popish arguments to strengthen our opinion. But the truth of this we leave to all the world to judge of.

But to prove this, the Doctor saith further, that by this reason the pope assumes a power of curbing or deposing kings, for that if there be not a power in the church, in case the civil magistrate will not discharge his trust, the church hath not means for the maintenance of the catholic faith, and its own safety.

But what likeness is there between that of the papists and this of our's? The papists saying, the church hath a power

of preserving its own safety, and therefore the pope may depose; we say the kingdom hath a power to preserve itself, and therefore if the king neglect the trust, the state for the present is to look unto it. And as for the matter of the church, we turn the Doctor's argument upon himself, thus:

If the church cannot be preserved where the officer is an heretic, unless the church have a power to reject him after once or twice admonition; then cannot a kingdom have a power to preserve itself, when the officer is unfaithful, unless the kingdom have a power either to depose him, or to look to their own matters until things be better settled. But the church hath excommunication granted to it by Christ himself, for its own preservation; neither can we conceive how a church can preserve itself from evils and errors, unless it have a power to cast out the wicked officers. As in the body natural it cannot preserve itself, unless nature had given it a power to deliver itself from its own burdens; therefore the commonweale also, by the like reason, cannot have a power to preserve itself, unless it have a power to deliver itself from its burden. But in case that an officer be unfaithful, we do not say that it is lawful for the kingdom to depose him, therefore it may be lawful for themselves, socially considered statewise, in time of danger to help themselves. Neither herein, as the Doctor would, do we appropinquate to the Romish doctrine, for the papists from this power of the church, do infer a power unto the pope, and not unto the church or community.

The Doctor asks us this question by way of his next answer: If every state hath such means to provide for its safety, what means of safety had the christian religion under the Roman emperors, in or after the apostles' times; or the people then enslaved, what means had they for their liberty: had they this of resistance? Tertullian in his apology, says thus: The christians had number and force sufficient to withstand, but they had no warrant.

The question is wrong stated, it should have been made thus, If any state hath such means to provide for its safety: what means of safety had the Roman state under the Roman emperors, when as he doth say, what means of safety had the christian religion under the Roman emperors? christian religion, and the state are two different things.

In the primitive times the christians indeed had none of this power of resistance, nor warrant for it, as Tertullian speaks, because the Roman state was not with them: but suppose that the Roman senate or parliament had stood up for them, and with them, the representative body of the whole empire (and this is our case, not as the Doctor lays it), then, would not the christians have made resistance for their own defence? No question but they would, and would have known that they had warrant therein; who may not see that hath but half an eye, the vast difference between the condition of the christians in the primitive times, and ours? they not having the state to join with them, they not being the representative body of the empire, as it is now with us; yet this objection maketh a great outcry, and there is some thread of it runs through the Doctor's book, but how easily it may be cut, let the world judge: there being no more likeness between our condition and the condition of the primitive christians, than between the condition of private men whom the whole state doth move against, and the condition of people whom the state is with.

The Doctor replies: That though the senate of Rome were against the christians of those times; yet if the people have the first right, and all power be from the people, that people must rise up and resist, because the senate did not discharge the trust, and so it will be in this state, if at any time a king that would rule arbitrarily, should by some means or other, work out of the two houses the better affected, and by consent of the major part of them that remain, compass his desires, the people may tell them they discharged not their trust, they chose them not to betray them, or inslave them; and so might lay hold on this power of resistance, for the representative body claims it by them.

Concerning the senate of Rome, and the people of the Roman empire, we say that though the emperor and the senate had been for the destruction of the christians, yet if the whole body of the empire had jointly risen for the christians, I make no question but that many of those that died, would so far have resisted that they would have saved their own lives; but the emperors and senate being against them, and the body of the empire jointly considered, not rising for them: it is true indeed, they had no warrant to make

resistance, but to suffer as they did. This is none of our case.

Whereas the Doctor saith, both here and afterward in this section, that if upon our grounds the king will not discharge his trust, that therefore it falls to the representative body of the people to see to it; then the people having this power, may also say, if the members of the two houses do not discharge their trust committed to them, they do not that which they were chosen and sent for, and then may the multitude by this rule and principle now taught them, take the power to themselves.

I answer, that there is not the same reason why the people should be so ready to think that the parliament do neglect their trust, being they are very many chosen out of the whole kingdom for their faithfulness, approved every way for their goodness and wisdom; whereas a prince may be born to the crown, and so by virtue of his inheritance may rule, though he be known to be vicious; as also because it is received by all the kingdom that we ought to be governed by laws, and the people all know that the parliament are better able to judge of the law than the prince is; as also because the people do actually elect and trust the parliament men with the present affairs of the kingdom. Now though the prince indeed be trusted by the commonwealth with their affairs in our forefathers, whereunto the people do now consent, yet there is not that actual election or designation of him unto the present affairs of the kingdom, as there is of the parliament men chosen for these particular businesses; as for example, suppose that a people do chuse their minister, trusting him with all the great affairs of their souls, and there doth rise a controversy between neighbours, wherein they choose an arbitrator to umpire the businesses, though these two parishioners that have fallen out, have formerly trusted their minister with all the affairs of conscience, yet they do not so readily stand to his verdict, by reason of the general trust, as to the verdict of those arbitrators whom they have now actually chosen for this business; neither can they in law or reason so easily revoke or renounce the sentence of arbitrator, whom they have chosen to this business, as the sentence of their minister whom they have trusted in the general; so in this case of ours, though the king be in-

trusted by our forefathers and us with the general affairs of the kingdom, yet the parliamentary men are actually elected and designed by the people for the present affairs of the kingdom; and therefore the people take themselves bound to stand to their arbitrement: neither can they think, that they are at the like liberty to renounce their arbitrement and sentence, as they are for the denial of their prince's commandment.

I say, There is not the same reason that the people should recal their power from the parliament, in case the parliament should prove unfaithful, as there is they should see to things in case the prince be misled: I say, there is not the same reason, though both the parliament and prince have both their power originally by derivation from the people, because that the derivation of power from the people unto the prince, is not made the sole reason by those that the Doctor disputes against for this their resistance, but the authority that they are clothed with; whereas if a people upon surmises that the parliament do not perform their trust, should call in their trust and their power, then they should have left themselves naked of all authority, and should be private men; but now that they look to themselves in this time of danger, and in that sense do re-assume their power which they have derived to their prince, they are still led on by authority.

The Doctor answers, that we cannot expect any absolute means of safety and security in a state.

I answer, Neither do we expect it, though this be granted which we desire, or that granted which he contends for.

Then he saith, that there is an excellent temper of the three estates in parliament, there being a power of denying in each of them, and no power of enacting in one or two of them without the third; for what might follow if the king and lords without the commons, or those and the lords without the king might determine, the evils of these days do shew; so is this power of denying for the security of each state against other.

This both the Doctor and I must leave to the judgment of those that know the laws and the liberties and the privileges of all three estates.

Further, he saith, that now not only the name of parliament, which implies the three estates, is restrained usually to the two houses, but also that temper is dissolved.

I answer, It was always so, that the parliament was made distinct from the king, in ordinary speech, saying, The king and his parliament. When the parliament is mentioned alone, it may include the king, but when the king and parliament are mentioned together, the speech can intend no more than the two houses. As when the body is mentioned alone, it includes the head and the members; but when the head and the body are mentioned together, then the body doth not include the head.

Again, that the Doctor saith, this trust of the three states is dissolved, I conceive it is a scandalous charge, and so I leave that to others.

Then the Doctor saith: If it be replied, as it is, for the reasonableness of this means of safety through that power of resistance, and that many see more than one, and more safety in the judgment of many than of one: I answer, saith the Doctor, true; but conscience might here demand for its satisfaction, why should one hundred in the house of commons see more than three hundred; or twenty in the lords' house more than sixty that are of different judgment, and withdrawn?

I answer, If there be three hundred of the house of commons withdrawn, and but an hundred left; and sixty of the lords' house withdrawn unto twenty: if indeed there be so many gone away, why did they not come all this while, and carry things by a vote, and the controversy had been now at an end? Then could it never have been said to the people, that the parliament are against the king; then might the three states have all joined together, and there had been no further question.

Again the Doctor answers, that the prince though one, sees with the eyes of many, for which his houses of parliament are his great council, to present to his eyes the differences of things, with the reasons of them.

This needs no other answer than that which follows in the Doctor's own words, where he saith, that the king sometime dissents from the major or prevailing part of the parliament, so that he may see with their eyes, and see other things than they do, and be of different judgment from them. And if he may see with other men's eyes that are of different judgment from him, because they do present to his eyes the

difference of things, with the reasons of them, then may the houses of parliament also see more than he does, because the difference of things, with the reasons of them, are presented to them also.

Then the Doctor descends to prove that monarchial government is the best, and that God made choice to set up that still, first in Moses, then in the judges, then in the kings.

But how come we to this discourse, to compare monarchy and aristocracy; and to say that monarchy is better government than aristocracy? Doth it follow from the word *True*, which the Doctor hath said to that proposition: Many see more than one, and more safety in the judgment of many than of one? But seeing he is pleased to say, The government which God made choice of to set up among his people was monarchial still, first in Moses, then in the judges, then in the kings; let us now diligently observe that monarchial which God made choice of. If Moses, the judges and kings were all monarchs, and monarchy the best government, then,

The best government is such, where the people have the free choice of their governor, for so they had in the time of the judges: chap. xi. 5, "And it was so, when the children of Ammon made war against Israel, the elders of Israel went to fetch Jephthah out of the land of Tob; and they said unto Jephthah, Come and be our captain, that we may fight with the children of Ammon. And Jephthah said unto the elders of Gilead, If ye bring me home again to fight with the children of Ammon, and the Lord deliver them before me, shall I be your head? And the elders of Gilead said unto Jephthah, The Lord be witness betwixt us if we do not so according to thy word. Then Jephthah went with the elders of Gilead, and the people made him head and captain over them," ver. 11. Thus we see that that government which the Doctor calls the best, and set up by God, is such, when the people have the choice of their king, and the derivation of his power is from them, as I have proved at large, in the preface, to have been in the judges and kings of Israel.

Then the best government is that where the king and people strike a covenant at his coronation; which covenant the king is bound to observe: neither doth his covenanting with the people make him no monarch, for David was a mo-

narch, yet David "made a covenant with the elders of Israel, and so they anointed him king over Israel," 1 Chron. xi. 3.

Then the best government is such, also, where the prince doth advise with his people and elders, doing no great matter in state or religion without their consent, and with their consent doing. So David, 1 Chron. xiii. 1: "And David consulted with the captains of thousands and hundreds and every leader; and David said unto all the congregation of Israel, If it seem good unto you, let us bring again the ark of the Lord our God unto us: and all the congregation said that they would do so, for the thing was right in the eyes of all the congregation." So that the people having an agency in the great affairs of the kingdom, is no way repugnant but consistent with monarchial government, or the government appointed by God himself.

Then, also, is the best government appointed by God, such as doth carry along with it a lawfulness for the subjects to take up arms, and make forcible resistance for their own security, and safety of the commonweale, against their monarchs, when cause requireth: for did not the people sometime in Israel take up arms against some of the judges? and did not David, though yet a subject to Saul, take up arms and make forcible resistance? It is said expressly, 1 Chron. xii. 18, 19, "Then David received them, and made them captains of the band, and there fell some of Manasses to David, when he came with the Philistines against Saul to battle." The Doctor said before in his treatise, that David took up arms only in his own defence. But do these words note no more? Only I press them thus far, as may shew a lawfulness for the people to take up arms in a way of forcible resistance against the king's commandment, when the danger is imminent; which we find agreeable to the best government, set up by God himself, as the Doctor acknowledgeth.

Again the Doctor answers, that such power of resistance will be no means of safety to a state, but rather a remedy worse than the disease; which he proveth from Rom. xiii., which I have answered already, and from some reasons, this power of resistance, if admitted and preserved, may proceed to a change of government.

To which I answer, that if several forms of government be of human constitution, as the Doctor speaks, why should we

think that they are utterly unalterable, as the laws of the Medes and Persians?

But this principle of ours cannot boil up to that height, for we only say, that when the prince shall neglect his trust, the people are to see to it, and contend not for deposing.

Again he saith, This power of resistance is accompanied with the evils of a civil war.

I answer, No, but therefore we are afflicted with civil war, because some people are misled from their own natures to take up arms against their own country. Civil war is from the cause thereof. Now the parliament calls for arms only to defend the country: these make the civil war that are against the country's defence.

He saith, again, There is danger in this power of resistance; for then, if the people be discontented, and have gotten power, they may say, The members of the two houses do not discharge their trust; and so by this rule take up the power to themselves, and so all rapine and confusion brought into the kingdom.

I answer, There can be no such inference made from this principle of ours, for the people do all acknowledge that we are to be governed by laws, and that, as the Doctor saith, the parliament is the judge of what is law: the people do acknowledge, according to truth, that the parliament hath the declarative power, or the supreme power of declaring the law; the king doth not profess this, but rather the contrary, that he is no lawyer, nor skilled in the laws. The parliament do profess it, and the people acknowledge them to be so; and therefore there is not the same reason that they should take their power to themselves, in case that the parliament should neglect their trust: for why should the people take that power unto themselves, should it be according to law? The parliament will then tell them, that they have done that which is according to law, wherein they confess, that the two houses have the power of declaring. But now if the prince shall neglect his trust, and the people take a power to look to themselves in times of danger, by way of forcible resistance; the prince cannot say, when the parliament is against him: The supreme power of declaring law doth agree my course to be lawful. So that you see there is not the same reason of both.

And whereas the Doctor saith, That upon the like reason,

if the parliament shall neglect their trust, the people may call in their power. How can the people think that the parliament doth any thing contrary to the law of the land, when the parliament are the judges thereof, and the people confess so; and therefore the Doctor may be out of fear for this matter.

The Doctor saith, That seeing some must be trusted in every estate, it is reason that the highest and final trust should be in the higher and supreme power, and that he should have the best security, who is worth ten thousand of his subjects.

I answer, Therefore the people do trust the king and his parliament, who are the highest power and court in the kingdom: and if the greatest and best security should be about the king, because he is worth ten thousand subjects, then surely the kingdom itself should have the best security, because the king is ordained for his kingdom.

In fine, the Doctor presses the oath of supremacy, allegiance, and the last protestation upon the conscience, and wishes men here to consider their power of resistance, and taking up of arms is contrary thereto; in which he saith, We swear and protest to defend the king's person.

And thus we do by taking up of arms: for what man is there that considers things rightly, may not easily perceive, that if the popish party should prevail, which are either about the king, or of his armies, I say, who may not easily think, if they should prevail, that either our king must be a rank papist, or a dead man? Who knows not, that if the papists get the upper hand, though now they cry out for supremacy, supremacy, that either they will force the king to another supremacy, or else quickly make a hand of him? Is it not their opinion? What better service therefore can a true subject perform to his majesty's person, then by force of arms to deliver him out of the hands of those spoilers that lie in wait for his precious soul? In the oath of supremacy we swear him our sovereign to be supreme in opposition to the pope, or any other particular person. How does our doctrine or practice infringe this? In the oath of allegiance we swear to be his liege subjects according to law, and that which we do is so. And in our protestation we protest to maintain the king's person, the parliament's privileges, the

subjects' rights, and our religion: if we do not take up arms in this time of popish insurrection, how can we with good conscience say, that either we defend the king's person from the violence of papists, which, according to their own doctrine, we know shall be made upon our king, or the privileges of parliament, whose power is to send for delinquents, and those that are accused before them, even by force to bring them unto their trial; or the liberty of subjects, who have this given by nature to defend themselves, or the truth of our religion, which notwithstanding all flourishes, we have seen such invasions made upon, and now in our conscience under more hazard; because those that are opposite unto it, do profess to defend it: whereupon I presume that every good man that maketh conscience of his ways, considering these things, will not be backward to advance this public design. And though the Doctor be frequent with his damnation both in this section and in others, charging men from this resistance upon pain of damnation; yet a settled conscience will be no more scared with the Doctor's damnation, than with the cavalier's, God damn us.

SECTION VI.

Now the Doctor comes to the application of all in these two last sections, in which I intend not to trace him into all that he says; the application of all being left unto what men see and know experimentally; yet something I must say unto these Sections. In this sixth he tells us that we do not walk up unto our own principles, which are, as he saith, that our resistance must be *omnibus ordinibus regni consentientibus:* that is, as he translates it, agreed upon and undertaken by the general and unanimous consent of the whole states.

But is this a good and true translation of the words? The Doctor may know that when the matter comes to a scrutiny in the regent-house the matter is to pass with the consent of the regents, non-regents and heads of the university: and though all do not unanimously as one man consent yet it may be *omnibus ordinibus consentientibus.*

But he saith, How shall conscience be persuaded that this

resistance was agreed upon by an unanimous and free consent of the states; for saith he, he that knows how the militia, in which this resistance chiefly began, was brought in, with what opposition especially in the lords' house and by what number that at length was voted: also how the like proceedings was voted since, how that a vote passed by a few upon the place, though it have the power and condition of a vote, for the formality of law was not passed in full assemblies, cannot be persuaded in conscience that this is such an unanimous, free and general consent as makes the judgment of the whole kingdom.

To the which I answer, that by the like reasoning, there is no act of parliament or law, shall be of any force; and he may as well question any law that is made; for when was there ever any law made, which all did unanimously as one man consent to? By the constant law of the kingdom, though there be not so many in either house which have been present at these late affairs of the kingdom, it is to be acknowledged for an act of parliament, and so the judgment of the whole kingdom.

Then he tells us, That we do not walk up to our second principle, namely, that our resistance must be merely defensive, for, saith he, those that are first in arms cannot be upon the defensive part, page 22, and then page 21, saith he, Who were first in arms? He that can number the succession of months and weeks in his almanack, may decide this, he shall find that armed men were thrust into Hull, the militia set up, &c.

To which I answer, If those that are first in arms cannot be on the defensive part, then surely David's act was not mere defence, as the Doctor saith before: for we find in Scripture, that David and his men were gotten into arms before that Saul followed him: surely the Doctor's almanack hath not all the months in it, for he begins his account only at the business at Hull, whereas before that, the king came in hostile manner unto the parliament, gathered forces about Windsor, but this must be left unto men's eyes, and experienced knowledge, it being matter of fact.

Then the Doctor, I know not how, comes to inquire into the cause of these arms, wherein after some flourishes, he saith, Would any man have defended the revolt of the ten

tribes, if Rehoboam had promised to conserve their liberties? Saying, further, What shall we then generally think of this revolt from allegiance, which hath possessed well near ten tribes of the twelve, and yet in page 21, he tells us of a vote passed by a few upon the place, that this work of resistance is not carried on with a general and unanimous consent, and yet here he saith, ten tribes of twelve are for it.

In examining the causes of this war, and resistance, the Doctor saith, To speak truth, religion and liberties can be no other than the pretences of this war, the king having fortified them with so many acts of his grace passed this parliament, that they cannot be in that danger that is pretended for the raising of this war: it must be something that his majesty indeed doth deny, for which the contention is raised; which we shall find to be his power of arms, his power of denying in parliament the government of the church, and the revenue of it, which he is bound by oath to maintain, as by law they are established.

This is a very bold assertion and scandalous to charge a parliament in the face of the world with hypocrisy: but how doth this agree to the Doctor's own principles, who doth declaim against men for their uncharitableness, in not believing the king's protestations? Is this then no uncharitableness in him, charging the houses with pretending one thing, and intending another? Is not conscience as well bound to be charitable, and to believe the protestations of the parliament, as those papers that come out in the name of the king; and hath the parliament and houses carried themselves so unworthily and basely, that under pretence of religion, we should think they gape after the revenues of the church? Oh, where is this man's charity? And if the king be bound by oath, as the Doctor saith, to maintain the government of the church as by law established, yet he is no more bound by virtue of that oath to maintain that government than any other law of the kingdom; and as for other laws, if the king and parliament, think fit to repeal them, they may, yet without breach of the king's oath: so in this also.

Then the Doctor comes, in page 25, to open himself somewhat more freely concerning the government of the church by bishops: where he saith, That it is such a government

which the church always had since the first receiving of the christian faith in this land, and of all other governments simply the best, the abolishing whereof the king hath reason by power of arms to divert.

To which I answer, that if the Doctor look into the story of queen Mary's time, he shall find, that suffering protestant churches, which by reason of persecution were fain to lie hid in London, were governed by elders and deacons: that is simply the best government of the church which is chalked and ruled out by the Scripture, as the Doctor will confess. And if this government be so, I wonder that those that are so much for it, should be of that judgment, that there is no particular form of church government laid down in the word; which judgment they must needs be of, unless they will hold, that the government of other churches is sinful, and contrary unto the word, which they are loth for to do. And truly if this government be simply the best, the best hath the worst success; for there is no government in all the churches of christendom, that hath had so many sects and schisms, or occasioned so much separation from the churches of Christ, as this hath done. There are many sects and divisions in the Low Countries, but none of them departing from the protestant church there, by reason of the church government or discipline, but by reason of doctrine.

Let any man but seriously consider the protestant churches in Switzerland, France, Holland, Germany, Scotland, and he shall easily observe, that there is no such separation or division made from the churches, by reason of the church government established in them, as hath been here in England, by reason of this diocesan government. And if any man shall say, this bad success here is rather to be imputed to the wickedness of the governors, than the corruption of government; why should he think that the governors in England are more wicked than in other protestant churches, if the government itself did not give scope to their wickedness? And if the government of diocesan bishops, be of all governments the best, we wonder that Christ and his apostles should not appoint it: surely they appointed some government in the church; and what they appointed was *jure divino*, and so best: whereas this was never counted *jure divino*, until of late. But if this government be simply the

best, it will abide trial in its due time and place: but that it should be so good, as that the abolishing thereof, the king hath reason by power of arms to divert, this is strange. Now the Doctor shews himself, that he had rather the kingdom should be embrued in a bloody war, than episcopacy should be put down; and that will stir up the king to an unnatural civil war for the upholding of that order. Judge ye, oh, all Englishmen, whether it be better for you to have this order taken away, than for the whole kingdom to lie embrued in their own gore?

In the conclusion of this Section the Doctor complains, that the king's spear and cruse, and necessary ammunition, and provisions, are taken away; not restored, though often demanded; contrary, saith he, to the example of David, who having taken the spear and the cruse from Saul his king, restored them again before they were demanded. 1 Sam. xxvi.

But though Saul's spear was restored before it was demanded, yet not before Saul had humbled himself to David, saying, "I have sinned; return, my son David, for I will no more do thee harm; because my soul was precious in thine eyes this day: behold, I have played the fool, and have erred exceedingly," ver. 21. Whereupon David arose, and said, ver. 22, "Behold the king's spear, let one of the young men come over and fetch it." Neither is mention here made of restoring the cruse. Some other things the Doctor hath in this Section, wherein he doth rather charge than prove; but men's knowledge may sufficiently answer to those things.

SECTION VII.

IN this last Section the Doctor tells us, that though conscience could be persuaded that it is lawful to make a defensive resistance, yet it can never be persuaded that the king is such as the people must be made to believe he is: for indeed it concerns all such as will resist upon the principles now taught, to render their prince odious to his people, under the hateful notions of tyrant, subverter of religion and laws, a person not to be trusted, or at least as one

seduced to such evil designs, by wicked counsels, that he will bring in popery, that he will not stand to his promises.

I answer, These are sad charges, but how groundless God and the world knows. Who may not see how tender the parliament hath been of the king's honour? Therefore they have not been willing to believe that those declarations that came out in his name, are his own. Therefore they charge all that is done, on his counsellors, not on himself; herein being fully like unto David, who though Saul came out against him, yet did he not impute that unnatural war unto Saul himself, so much as unto those that were about him, saying unto Saul, "If the Lord hath stirred thee up against me, let him accept an offering; but if they be the children of men, cursed be they before the Lord: for they have driven me out this day from abiding in the inheritance of the Lord," 1 Sam. xxvi. 19. Therefore also, when the parliament hath written any thing that might in the least measure reflect upon his majesty, I have observed that they never did write so, but to vindicate and to clear themselves from some aspersions first cast upon them; and when they did write so, like Shem and Japhet, they took a garment and went backward; desiring rather to cover than to behold any nakedness in our dread sovereign. And woe be unto them from the Lord, but I will not curse them with the curse of Cham, who put his majesty upon such actions, whereby any nakedness should be discovered.

Then the Doctor comes to the examination of those fears and jealousies which have possessed the people, which he saith are raised on these grounds: report of foreign powers to be brought in, the queen's religion, the resort of papists to his majesty, his intercepting of means sent for the relief of Ireland. To which he answers, that the report of foreign invasions, given out to keep the people in a muse, the easier to draw them into a posture of defence, are discovered in time to have been vain. But, saith he, if there be now any foreign aid coming towards the king, (as all christian kings cannot but think themselves concerned in this cause,) it will be just for him to use them against subjects now in arms.

To which I answer, that it doth not appear that our fears were vain, because foreign invasion hath been prevented; for we may rather think that therefore we have not been invaded by

foreigners, because the parliament hath been vigilant both by sea and land to prevent them. But who doth not see that so far as lies in the Doctor, he doth invite foreign forces into the land, and so stir up other princes for to send them, and our king for to use them? Whether this be agreeable to an English divine, or an English subject, I leave to be judged.

Then he saith, the queen's religion is no new cause.

To this I say nothing, but leave it, being matter of fact, to the judgment of eyes that have seen actions, whether there be no more cause of jealousy now than at her first entrance.

And, for the resort of papists, and the king's entertaining them, the Doctor strengthens the intrust of it with that example of David: We may see, saith he, what manner of men were gathered to David in his distress, and how Ziba was rewarded.

To which I say this only, how can the Doctor make it appear, that those that were gathered to David, were men of another religion from David, and of such a religion that by the state was counted rebellion, who also by the state was to be disarmed? Which if the Doctor does not make good, this instance is nothing to our case.

And, for the matter of Ireland, I leave that wholly to the parliament's declarations, who without doubt know the proceedings of those better than this Doctor; and what conscience enlightened will not rather rest for satisfaction upon parliamentary declarations, than upon this Doctor's assertion in this matter.

The other things in this Section are mostly matter of fact, and therefore I must refer them to men's sense. Only I cannot but observe, how in all things the Doctor clears the king, and casts dirt upon the parliament, but still with this cunning, when he hath laid the greatest aspersion upon them, he retracts in these words: I speak not this to cast any blemish upon the wisdom of the great council. Like as before, when he had said what he could, or happily dared, for the king's ruling by conquest, he comes oft with this kind of speech: This I speak not as if the kings of the land might rule as conquerors. And this is an ordinary sleight, when men have preached against purity and holiness, with as much bitterness as they can, then they think to come off in this or the like manner: God forbid that I should speak against

purity and holiness. But let him in God's name clear the king in what he may, as we are all bound to do as far as we can; but can he not clear his majesty without such foul aspersions cast on the parliament? of whom he saith thus, page 30: Men are highly concerned to consider, whether they also that are the main directors of this resistance, do discharge this trust they are called to? Whether to divest the king of the power of arms, and to use them, be to defend his person, right and dignity? Whether the forcing of the subjects' property to the advancing of this resistance, and the imprisoning of their persons for denial, be the maintaining of the right and privilege of the subjects? Whether the suffering of so many sects to vent their doctrines, and to commit such insufferable outrages upon the worship of God, with such licentiousness, be a defending of religion, and the established worship of this church?

These are foul charges upon the parliament. How can the Doctor say: I enter not this discourse to cast the least blemish upon the parliament. Well, "Blessed is the man that condemneth not himself in that thing which he alloweth." The Doctor confesseth, that man to be subject to higher powers, and that we are to submit to them. He confesseth also, that the parliament is the highest court in the kingdom, and it ought to judge what is the law. They having therefore judged this resistance to be lawful, if the Doctor shall resist this their declarative power, saying, it is not law, and cast such dirt and reproaches upon them, doth he not condemn himself in the thing which he alloweth?

But in this last clause of his book, he summons conscience to answer upon pain of damnation; and I make no question, but when men shall have seriously considered his book, the verdict that conscience will bring in, will be this:

As in the sight of God, I have perused this treatise of his, and I find it injurious to the king, to the parliament, to the divines of this kingdom, to the other subjects, and to the treatiser himself.

To the king, for hereby he is put on and exasperated against his parliament and subjects, further engaged in this war, and encouraged to take the assistance of papists, who if he conquer by their means, what protestant good subject doth not bleed to think what will become of him?

To the parliament, being charged with the blood that is spilt in these wars, with the miseries of Ireland, with the schisms and sects of this kingdom, with open hypocrisy, pretending one thing and intending another.

To divines, all whom he makes to be of his judgment.

To the subjects, denying to them the liberty given them by God and nature, and the fundamental laws of the kingdom, and calling in foreigners upon them.

To the treatiser himself, who hath needlessly embarked himself in a bad cause.

And lastly, to the Scripture and God, and his great officer on earth, conscience: the Scripture being wrested, God dishonoured, and the conscience deceived.

Now the Lord grant that whilst we speak of conscience, we may in all things make conscience of our ways, for *multi conscientiam habuit ad judicium, non ad remedium.* As concerning the king, "Give the king thy judgments, O God, and thy righteousness unto the king's son." And as concerning the two houses of parliament, "Let the mountains bring grace unto the people, and the little hills thy righteousness." Let the king and queen and people praise thee, O God, yea, let all our England praise thee.

THE

TRUTH OF THE TIMES VINDICATED,

WHEREBY

THE LAWFULNESS OF PARLIAMENTARY PROCEEDINGS IN TAKING UP ARMS IS JUSTIFIED, Dr. FEARNE'S REPLY ANSWERED, AND THE CASE IN QUESTION MORE FULLY RESOLVED.

"Except the Lord keep the city, the watchman waketh but in vain."—Psalm cxxvii. 1.

Quæso lector, ut memor tribunalis Domini et de judicio tuo te intelligens judicandum, nec mihi nec adversario meo faveas, neve personas loquentium, sed causam consideres.—Hierom.

AN ADVERTISEMENT TO THE READER.

THOU mayest perhaps wonder that this answer was no sooner returned to the Doctor's reply, which came forth so long ago, so that now it may seem to come forth too late. Know therefore, first, that the Doctor's hook itself, some while went up and down in the dark, seen only of a few. Secondly, That the Author of the answer living far from London, it was much longer before he could have the sight of it. After he had it, he soon dispatched his answer, which he left in the hands of some friends here a month since to he puhlished, hut new licensers heing appointed, much time was spent in carrying of it from one to another for leave to travel safely; as, also, printers heing full either of husiness or negligence, it comes to pass that it hath been much longer in the hirth than in the hreeding. I hope it comes not too late to satisfy the conscience of the well-affected, or to encourage those that are engaged in this so necessary a defensive war; and it may he much more seasonahle than if hefore, whiles people's minds are generally inclined to go up with one unanimous consent personally to maintain the true religion, life and liberty of the subject, which seems to he the likeliest way to put an end to our unnatural uncivil wars; and happy shall that man be called, that shall help forward that great work, and he a means to still the storm, the end of a just war being peace, as the lancing of the wound is for the cure of it. Farewell.

I. A.

EPISTLE DEDICATORY.

To the Right Worshipful the Knights, and Gentlemen Deputy-Lieutenants of the County of Norfolk.

Honoured Sirs.—Give me leave to join you together in one epistle, whom God and your country have joined together in one service. It is not in my purpose to blazon your worth before the world, your own actions speak you in the gate, and wise men had rather do worthily than hear of it; only observing your unwearied labour of love for God and your country, I count it my duty to come forth and meet you with this pen-service, in testimony of my thankful respects to you. You read, Numb. xxv., when the wrath of God brake out against Israel, that Phineas stood up and executed judgment, and the wrath was not only diverted, but himself blessed; yea, the blessing was a blessing of peace, though wrought out by the sword. Your like action in this time of wrath, will carry the like blessing on yourselves and houses; yet your work is rather to bring men to justice than to execute it. Many blessed comforts wait on your service:

1. We read in Scripture but of one man so potent in heaven, that he could command the sun to stand still, and he was a soldier, Joshua; but of one man of whom it was said, that he had an heart after God's own heart, and he was a great soldier, David; but of one man of whom Christ gave that great testimony, "I have not found so great faith, no, not in Israel," and he was a soldier too, the centurion. Thus hath God honoured your calling.

2. Your work is good, for you are the ministers of reformation. I read of a king of Meath, sometime in Ireland, that being asked how certain noisome birds, that came flying into that country and bred there, might be destroyed? was answered thus, "Nides eorum uhique destruendos:" The way to be rid of them was to destroy their nests. Now for a long season many noisome birds have been flying over into this kingdom, and have bred here; the work of these times is to destroy those nests of jesuits and jesuited persons, and it is that work which now you are upon. Though it cost some pains, it is worth your labour: "Fœlix necessitas quæ ad meliora ducit:" Happy is that necessity which leads to better things.

3. Your cause is just also, agreeable to the law of nature; for, "Conservatio sui ipsius est opus naturalissimum," to the law of God: for David, though not the representative body, yet lawfully took up arms for his own defence; to the law of the kingdom, for what more legal than that the houses of parliament should bring in delinquents to trial; and how can that be without arms, when the delinquents betake themselves to their arms? The schoolmen say, three things concur to a just war: 1. "Jurisdictio indicentis," and for that you have the authority of parliament, which, as one writes, "Vetustatem si spectes est antiquissima, si dignitatem est honoratissima, si jurisdictionem est copiosissima:" If you respect antiquity, is of all courts the most ancient; if dignity, is of all courts the most honourable; if authority and jurisdiction, is of all courts the most copious. 2. "Offensio patientis," and for that you have matter too much, and your enemies

too little; the great cause of their arms is but some piece of prerogative, if they pretend truly, a cause infinitely beneath so unkind and bloody a war as this is. 3. "Intentio boni convenientis," and for that I dare say you are "bellando pacifici," your war being to prevent war, and your present bleeding to prevent some great sickness which this state would sink under.

4. Your forces live and march under as many prayers as ever English armies did, you have "preces armatas:" and though Joshua fought valiantly, Exod. xvii., yet the prayers of Moses, who was not in the fight, got the field.

5. If you do overcome, you shall not make yourselves slaves by your own victories; we may truly say of some, "Dum vincunt victi sunt;" when they have overcome others, they are slaves themselves: your religion, laws and liberties, stand all ready to reward your prowess.

And, 6. If you he overcome and die, you die for God and your country. Who can bring his life into a better market? "Blessed are those that die for the Lord," so that word εν is rather to be read, Rev. xiv. 13. Wherefore as heretofore, so now much more labour to hold forth the virtues of Him that hath called you to this great employment. As soldiers are more honoured than others, so they should he more virtuous: he had need carry much grace in his heart, that doth daily carry his life in his hand; and your soldiers should as well overcome the countries with their good examples, as the enemies with their swords. When Joshua went out to battle against the Amalekites, his men were all chosen or choice men, Exod. xvii. 9; and saith the Lord, "When the host goeth forth against thine enemy, then keep thee from every wicked thing," Deut. xxiii. 9. It is ordinarily observed, that when the Jews marched out of Egypt into Canaan, they carried in their colours some significative sign: Judah carried a lion in his standard; Ephraim, an ox; Reuben, the picture of a man; Naphtali, an hind: a lion, noting their courage; a man, noting their skill and understanding; an hind, noting their swiftness and readiness for execution; and an ox, for patience, strength and obedience. Such colours should those wear in their lives, that are soldiers for God. The enemies of the churches had their colours also; the bear, the leopard, &c., Dan. vii., cruel in human practices, being more fit to he worn in their lives than our's. "Quo modo fidem præstabunt authoritati qui Deo sunt perfidi," Cons. satiff. a. 56. How can men be faithful to you that are unfaithful to God? Dr. Fearne, your adversary and mine, writes thus of the parliament's forces: If a list of the army against his Majesty were examined, there would he found, if not a considerable number of papists, yet of such as they that employ them would have cause to be ashamed of, &c. It may be some of your soldiers would say as David's did, "Let me go over, I pray thee, and take off his head." But let your answer rather be, "Let him alone, and let him reproach; it may he that the Lord will look on mine affliction, and that the Lord will requite good for his reproaching this day." And as formerly, so now yet more and more let your endeavour he to wipe off such aspersions, by sending and employing such soldiers as may not stain your good cause with their ill practice. Let your motto he, "Militia sine malitia." And as for your success, either it will be good or bad; if bad, measure not the goodness of your cause thereby. "Eventus est stultorum argumentum:" it is God's course to give by denying: "Non habendo habemus." Wicked Benjamin, who took part with the delinquents of Gibeah, must first prevail against, not representative, but all Israel, who took up arms to do justice, that Israel might he the more provoked against them. Judges xx. And if your success he good, let your men carry it humbly: humility after mercy makes men fit for

more mercy. "Qui gloriatur in viribus corporis, gloriatur in viribus carceris." And he that boasts in his own body, boasts in his own prison. "Rejoice not (saith Solomon) when thine enemy falleth," Prov. xxiv. 17.

Your soldiers may rejoice in God's providence, but not in their enemies' blood. Zonarus writes, that this was the manner amongst the Romans when any triumphed, that an officer stood behind him, saying, οπισω βλεπε, look what is behind, and there he saw a bell and a whip; a whip, noting that for all his greatness he might come under the lash of misery, which bell-like would sound very loud.

Thus have I taken the boldness to present you with my rude thoughts and this small treatise, concerning which I say as Salvian, I have not sought smooth but profitable words: "Nos autem rerum magis quam verborum amatores sumus utilia potius quam plausibilia sectamur, et in his scriptis non lenotinia esse volumus, sed remedia," Salv. Epist. ad Solon. And in which, because it hath pleased God to lay the foundation of your proceedings in your good success at Crowland, by the hand and command of that worthy gentleman, Sir Miles Hobert, I wish you that blessing which the Abbot of Crowland, when he began to build the Abbey, would have made the foundation thereof, "Perpetuam felicitatem." To the end that the Abbot might have an happy beginning of this work, from some lucky manner of presage, he solemnly appointed the day of St. Perpetua, and of St. Felicity, in which he would lay the first foundation. Camden's Britannia: Lincolnshire.

Your humble Servant in the Gospel of Christ Jesus,

WILLIAM BRIDGE.

THE TRUTH OF THE TIMES VINDICATED

&c. &c.

AN INTRODUCTION TO THE READER.

Good Reader, you see into what sad times we are now fallen: our English sun is almost set, our day of peace and plenty is almost done; workmen go from their labour, and beasts go forth to their prey. And if war be the worst of all miseries, and civil war the worst of all wars, as indeed it is; for there the parents do bury their children, whereas otherwise the children do bury their parents;* then is our condition of all the most lamentable. The disputing time is almost now over: the Doctor hath stayed so long in bringing up his rear, that I fear the controversy depending, is now rather to be determined with the dint of the sword than with the strength of the pen: yet because the temple must be built in troublous times, and the tide of truth doth usually at the first creep up by the bankside against the stream, I am not unwilling, for truth's sake, once more to appear in this cause, that I may deliver it from those exceptions wherewith the Doctor hath burdened the same. It is not long since I met with the Doctor's reply, and at the first I thought it not necessary to give any answer unto it; partly because the subject is so well beaten, that he is almost answered before he hath objected; partly because I count that reply scarce worth a sober answer, which is clothed with so many scoffing jeers and vile reproaches, things unworthy of a D. D., especially such as pretend satisfaction of conscience: but it will find entertainment with conscience according to its own nature: for what Luther speaks of certain preachers, is true of writers also: *Multi sunt*, saith he, there are many hot and tumultuous preachers, who would have all things done as they say, not so much willing to be heard because they speak the

* Nemo ita amens est ut bellum quam pacem malit: nam in pace filii patres, in bello patres filios sepeliunt.—Herod.

word of God, as because they are teachers of it, desiring rather that the organ than the sound may be commended; who having meditated and conceived some words, do promise to themselves presently to convert those that hear them: whereas through the wonderful wisdom of God, they do nothing less than what they thought: for the soul of man perceiving that the word preached is compounded with their art, and covered over with human dung; that is, polluted with human affection and passion, it doth therefore nauseate the thing delivered, and is rather provoked than converted.* Yet because I have been earnestly desired by friends to open more fully the nature of government and civil government of England, I am not unwilling to set pen to paper again. For your better satisfaction therefore give me leave to lead you on by some steps or propositions which I shall lay down in the first and second chapters, and then shall come more nearly to answer the Doctor.

CHAPTER I.

Now because the basis of our question is, concerning the nature of government, rule and authority, or ruling and governing power, in which principle our Doctor is so much mistaken, I must, though at last, shew what that is. Power in itself therefore, or ἐξουσια, the word used, Rom. xiii, properly signifies a liberty or authority† to work or act towards others, translated *licentia* from ἐξεστι, as *licentia a licet:*

* Multi sunt prædicatores æstuantes et tumultuantes, artibus qui ut dixerint omnia facta velint, non tam volentes audiri quia verbum Dei dicunt, quam quia ipsi sunt verbi doctores, organum magis quam sonum commendari petentes horum portio, qui meditatis et conceptis a se verbis permittunt sibi ipsis nunc hos nunc illos pungere et mordere, et statim converterc, ubi sit miro Dei consilio, ut nihil minus impleant quam quod cogitaverunt. Sentit enim naturaliter anima hominis verbum arte super se compositum esse, et stercore humano ut apud Ezek. est opertum, id est, humano affectu pollutum; ideo nauseat super illo et potius irritatur quam convertitur.—Luther.

† Potestas in genere est facultas quædam propinqua ad exercendum aliquam operationem in aliquo supposito, ut domificator habet potestatem domificandi, id est facultatem qua in propinquo potest exire in talem operationem.—Alman. de potest Eccl. et Laic. q. 1. apud Gerson.

sometimes the word is used in the abstract, as Luke iv. 6; Luke xix. 17. Sometimes in the concrete, as Matt. viii. 9; Rom. xiii. 1, 2. Where, saith Gerard,* not without great advice the apostle Paul doth use an abstractive manner of speech to shew that subjects ought not so much to respect the persons commanding, as the office itself in their commandments. Take the word in the abstract, so it is all one with jurisdiction, which is ordinarily described to be *Jus dicendi in invitum.* Now this governing power is either ecclesiastical or civil; civil, concerning which our question is, according to the apostle Paul, as Gerard, Buchanan, and others have it,† Is that ordinance of God, which is armed with the sword for the terror of those that are evil and encouragement of those that do well? Rom. xiii. 1, 2, 3. This dominion of jurisdiction is distinguished from dominion of propriety: for dominion of propriety, as Medina observes,‡ is a power of disposing anything that is a man's own to his own profit. The power of jurisdiction or government is not so; which, while some have mistaken, they have attributed so much power to the prince, in regard of towns, castles and forts, as if he had therein dominion of propriety, which breeds much confusion in men's apprehension, and doth bias their thoughts into state errors. According to Alman,|| Secular or civil power, is that power which regularly is given to one, or more, by the people, for the ordering and preservation of the commonwealth, according to the civil laws thereof. I shall go no further than the Scripture will lead us plainly in this

* Ubi non sine gravi consilio apostolus abstractiva locutione uti voluit, ut ostenderet subditos non debere ad personas imperantium respicere, sed ad ipsorum officium quo divinitus sunt instructi.—Gerard de mag. polit. cap. 1.

† In epist. ad Rom. Regem etiam definit prope ad dialectica subtilitatem esse enim dit ministrum qui gladius traditus est ut malos puniat, ac honos foveat et sublevet —Buchanan de Jure Regni apud Scotos.

Magistratus in abstracto ex loco apostolico, Rom. xiii sic dosinire potest, est potestas a Deo ordinata, gladio armata ut sit custos divinæ legis et aliarum honestarum constitutionum ad conservand. pacem in genere humano, et reipub. salutem obtinendam.—Gerard de pol. mag. conclus. gen.

‡ Dominium jurisdictionis est potestas gubernandi subditos suos cujus actus sunt præcipere vetare, judicare, punire, premiare. Dominum proprietatis jus disponendi de re aliqua in suum commodum.—Medina de jure et justitia.

|| Potestas secularis vel laica, est potestas a populo vel successione hæreditarea, vel ex electione alicui, vel alicubus tradita regulanter ad ædificationem communitaris quantam ad res civiles, secundum leges civiles pro constitutione habitationis pacificæ.—Alman. ibid.

particular; as ecclesiastical power or jurisdiction is ministerial, and therefore called, *Jus clavium*, the power of the keys; so civil power is lordly, and therefore called, *Jus gladii*, the power of the sword, whereby some are authorised to exercise jurisdiction in commonwealths over others, for the reward of those that are good, and the punishment of those that are evil: that is governing or ruling power.

Again, If we take governing or ruling power as abstractively considered, so it is an ordinance appointed by God himself, "By me kings reign," saith God. And our Saviour, when Pilate said: "Knowest thou not that I have power to loose thee?" &c., said, "Thou hadst it not unless it were given thee from above." And again, "Give unto Cæsar the things that are Cæsar's," shewing that as God hath his dues in the world, so the magistrate hath his. Besides we are commanded to obey and submit unto the higher powers, Rom. xiii. And why should there be any obedience, if the power itself were not commanded of God? yea, the Israelites are faulted for contemning of God himself, in casting off the government of Samuel, which there should not have been, had not government been appointed by God. Εκ δε διος βασιληες, said the heathen. Luther calls magistracy, *Necessarium naturæ corruptæ remedium*, the necessary remedy of corrupt nature. And Tertullian saith well, *Inde imperator unde homo antequam imperator*. The voice of nature is the voice of God: now nature itself teacheth, that in a community, or body politic, there must be justice administered, otherwise the community can never be preserved: but justice cannot be administered, unless authority, power or jurisdiction, be first appointed; for what hath a private man to do to put another to death? "Thou shalt not kill," is made to all men.

But the apostle calls it, ανθροπινη κτισις, an human constitution or creature, how therefore is it true that ruling power is an ordinance appointed of God himself?

The apostle doth nowhere say, that power itself, or magistracy in the abstract, is an ordinance of man, but the form or qualification of it, as monarchy, aristocracy, democracy, which are the channels in which this power runs is ανθροπινη κτισις. And therefore the apostle having said, "Be subject to every ordinance of man," he addeth, "whether to the king as

supreme, or to the governors," &c. Durandus here distinguishes between institution of power and acquisition of it.* Secular power, saith he, considered according to its institution, is of God, but according to its acquisition, and way of use, so not: our Doctor doth ordinarily confound these in his reasonings; yea, though he distinguishes them when he sets down his own naked judgment, yet when he comes to reason against us, he will take no notice of his own distinction, neither can we persuade him to it: but the thing being as visible as the sun, I pass to the third and chief step of my discourse, which is this following:

Though power abstractively considered, be originally from God himself, yet he hath communicated that power to the people, so as the first subject, seat, and receptacle of ruling civil power under himself, is the whole people or body politic. To this purpose Mr. Rutherford's words are very plain,† A free common-wealth, saith he, contains *ordines regni*, the states that have nomothetick power, and they not only by the law of nature may use *justa tutela*, a necessary defence of their lives from a tyrant's fury, but also by the law of nations may authoritatively repress and limit, as is proved by Junius, Brutus, Bucherius, Althasius, Hænomus. Therefore Heming, Amiceus do well distinguish between *plebem* and δημον, *populum:* for indeed the multitude, excluding the states, or base of the people, can hardly have another law, against a tyrant than the law of nature. But the common-wealth, including the states of a free kingdom, hath an authoritative. So Isidore, Origen, Aristotle, Plato, Titus Livius, Plutarch, and that of the council of Basil, *Plus valet regnum quam rex*, the kingdom is more worth than the king, ap-

* Potestas secularis sive laica est a Deo quantum ad debitum, sed frequenter non est a Deo quantum ad acquisitionem vel usum nam secundum dictamen rectum debitum est talem esse potestatem naturaliter enim judicant homines quod oportet eos subdi alicui qui eis judicium et jus administret, ex ordinationem enim incitum est nobis tale judicium naturale ut conformiter ad ipsum veniamus, et hoc a Deo sed non est a Deo regulariter ad istum sensum quod alicui Deus communicaret istam jurisdictionem laicam, &c.—Durand. lib. de origine juris.

† Joh. Brut. q. 3. Bucher. lib. i. p. 6. Althasius polit. cap. xv. Henomius polit. dis. ii. 11. Isid. lib. ix. Origen cont. Celsum. cap. ix. Aristot. polit lib. i. c. 3, Plato de Rep. cap. viii. Livius lib. iv. Æneus Silvius de gestis concil. Basil.—Vide Rutherford in his Plea for Presbytery, chap. iv. p. 46.

proved by all. Thus far Samuel Rutherford, Professor of Divinity in Scotland. The reasons of my position are these:

When God gave the power of the sword to men, Gen. ix. 6, he gave it *indiscriminatim*, without difference, to all the world, Noah and his sons, being all the men that were then alive in the world; and he gave not the sword only to Noah, but to all his sons that then were upon the face of the earth; not that every one might ordinarily use it, but that they might, as they thought fit appoint one or more who might exercise that power that was given to all, as the first seat of it.

Because the power of ruling and governing is natural, and whatever is natural, doth first agree to the community, or *totum*, and afterward to the particular person or part, as the power of seeing and hearing, as Facultas Parisiensis observes to this purpose,* is firstly in the man and from the man in the eye or ear or particular member.

Because the fluxus and refluxus of civil authority, is from and to the people: if the authority of ruling in a commonwealth be given by the people to him that ruleth, I speak what is *jure et regulariter*, and returneth to them again to see justice done in case that there is no particular supreme magistrate left to rule, then the first subject, seat, and receptacle of ruling power must needs be in the people. Now so it is, that both these are true, which I shall prove one after another: as the fluxus of civil authority is from the people, civil government or authority is derived from the people to the prince, or him that ruleth: they ordinarily and regularly do and are to communicate that governing power wherewith such or such a person is so invested: therefore saith the Lord, "When thou art come into the land which the Lord

* Vulgare est atque indubitatum fidei axioma Deum et naturam prius atque immediatus ad totam suppositum quam ad aliquam partem suppositi quamvis nobilissimam intendere; eum que ob causum facultatem videndi datum esse homini ut per oculum tanquam per organum et ministrum hominis exerceretur; nam oculus per et propter hominem existit.—Facultas Parisiensis de pol. Eccles. Et istud etiam deduci potest ex.—Thom. Aquin. ii. 2. æ. q. 64. Omnis enim pars ordinatur ad totum, cujus est pars vel imperfectum ad perfectum, et si saluti totius corporis expediat ab scissio alicujus membri puta quia est putridum aut cæterorum infectivum in toto corpore residet potestatem illud perscindendi. Quid ergo quælibet persona comparetur ad totam communitatem sicut pars ad totum, ideo si aliquis sit pernitiosus in communitate laudabilitur a communitate interimitur.—Almain. de authorit. Eccles. apud Gers cap. 1.

thy God giveth thee, and shalt possess it, and shall dwell therein, and shalt say, I will set a king over me, like as all the nations that are about me, thou shalt in any wise set him king over thee whom the Lord thy God shall choose, thou shalt not set a stranger over thee which is not thy brother," Deut. xvii. 14, 15.

Where we shall see that the whole power of appointing and setting a king over them, was given unto that people, as other nations had it, by God himself. For God directing them herein doth not say thus: When thou dwellest in the land which I shall give thee, take heed that thou do not set a king over thee, which thing belongs not to thee; but as a matter belonging to the people, he saith, When thou shalt say, I will set a king over me, be sure that he be a good one, and such as is pleasing to me. In that he doth take away the power from them of making a stranger, he granteth them a power to make a brother, as Mendoza well observes.* Now saith God to them, Thou mayest not set a stranger over thee, which is not thy brother. What can be more plain than the words themselves? In verse 15, the words are reduplicated; *Ponendo pones,* according to the Hebrew, in placing thou shalt place: and that there might be no mistake in the matter, God is pleased to explain the former word שׂים, which we translate, set or place, by an after word in verse 15, נתן, which signifies to give, thus, Thou mayest not give a stranger over thee; so that setting and giving in these two verses, are all one, shewing that it is in the people to set or give a power unto others to rule over them. Again the apostle Peter calls this civil power ανθρωπινη κτισις. Now it is not therefore called so, only because it concerns men, or because it is conversant about men, or appointed for the good of men: for then the government† of the church also should be so called, but because the way of governing is raised, appointed, established by man himself, as is observed out of

* Auferendo potestatem ad faciendum externum supponit ad faciendum naturalem nam qui potestatem solam excipit ad regem ex peregrina natione constituendum plane illam supponit ad constituendam ex propria.—Mendoza in 1. Sam. viii. 12.

† Et sic tangitur prima differentia inter has duas potestates quia ecclesiastica est immediate a Christo instituente, sed laica quamvis sit a Deo ex ordinatione quantum ad debitum nunquam tamen est a Deo regulariter et immediate instituendum.—Almain de potest. Eccles. et Laic. cap. 1.

Oecumenius*. Again, this derivation of authority from the people will appear also, if men do seriously consider the state of the Jewish government. There was no people under heaven whom God did so immediately reign over, as their king; yet if we observe those kings that were the most immediately appointed by God himself, we shall find the intervening choice of the people, insomuch as it is said of Saul expressly, that the people did choose him, "Behold your king whom you have chosen and desired," 1 Sam. xii. 13, upon which words Mendoza observes,* that by the word chosen cannot be meant desired, because that word was added too, as different from the former, yet it is said, "That all the people went to Gilgal, and there they made Saul king:" 1 Sam. xi. 15, Whereupon, says Mendoza,† What is more plain? Neither could they make him king otherwise, than by conferring kingly power upon him. I do not say that God did not make a designation of his person to the crown, there is much difference between the designation of person, and collation of power. When the Israelites were under the government of the judges, they desired and chose a new way of government, saying to Samuel: "Now make us a king to judge us, like all the nations," 1 Sam. viii. 5. And when God had yielded to them, and had designed Saul over them, the people also came in with their election and suffrages. Neither are these two, God's designation and man's election repugnant, but may stand together: for as Zepperus observes on these words,‡ "Thou shalt set over thee a man whom God shall choose;" Deut. xvii., the election may be of God, the constitution, susception and comprobation of the people by their suffrages. And Car. Scribonius, who purposely writes of the form and manner of the Jews' government and commonwealth speaks abundantly and plainly thus:‖ But for that which concerns the

* Vocatur humana ordinatio non respectu primæ originis et principalis causæ efficientis, sed respectu causæ instrumentalis, quia per hominem sæpius constituitur magistratus ut Œcumenium in Comment. humanam κτισιν opponit per Θεσιν quod constitutus et positus sit magistratus ab hominibus Deo tamen sic innuente et sanct'ente.—Gerard. Loc. Com. fol. 481.

† Quid apertius neque enim videtur aliter eum regem facere potuisse quam ei regiam potestatem conferendo.—Mendoza in 1 Sam. viii.

‡ Ubi electio regis Deo constitutio susceptio vel comprobatio populi suffragiis tribuitur.—Zepperus leg. Mosaic. Forens. explan. lib. iii. cap. 7.

‖ Quod autem ad creationem ipertinet creatus est primum suffragiis populi universi, &c.—Car. Scr. de rep. Heb. 1.

creation of the king of Israel, he was first, saith he, created by the suffrages of the whole people. And if God would have it so then, among the children of Israel whom he intended in a special manner to reign over himself, much more may we think that God would have the first constitution of kingdoms to be so ordered now, and amongst other people. Wherefore I conclude this, that the prince doth and ought at first to receive his government and authority from the people, and that the people themselves do give it to him. And if so, then the first seat and subject of civil gonernment, is the people: for that nothing can give that to another, which it hath not itself first, either formally or virtually.

And now for the reflux of authority, so it is, that in case there have been a supreme magistrate in a state, and all particulars cease, and the royal line be spent, and justice to be executed, it returns to the whole body to see to it. As when Joshua and divers judges had ruled in Israel, yet we read that after them, Judg. xix. 1., there was no king in Israel, and then was the great sin committed by the men of Gibeah with the Levite's concubine: whereupon all Israel did take the sword of justice, and they said, Judg. xx. 13. to the men of Gibeah, Deliver us the men, the children of Belial, which are in Gibeah, that we may put them to death; which Gibeah refusing, they did all, as one man, go up in arms against them, God himself approving their act. And what had all Israel to do to execute justice, if the power of the sword did not return to the people, *vacante magistratu supremo:* neither can it be objected, that though Israel had no king and supreme magistrate amongst them, yet they had several heads of the tribes, by whose power they did come together for the execution of justice, as it might seem to be. Judges xx, 2. For sometimes the chief of the tribes doth in scripture phrase, signify those that are chief in age, wisdom and riches, not such as were chief in authority. Besides, this action is imputed to all the people, there being four hundred thousand men that came together upon this design, verse 2, unto whom the Levite made his complaint, verse 7. "Ye are all children of Israel, give here your advice and counsel. And all the people arose as one man," verse 8, saying, verse 9. "Now this shall be the thing we will do to Gibeah," and verse 11. "So all the men of Israel were gathered against Gibeah."

And least that any should think that this work was done by the power of some remains of regal authority amongst them, it is not only said before this work begun, that there was no king in Israel in those days, Judg. xix. 1. but after all was done, it is said further, chap. xxi. 25. "In those days there was no king in Israel, and every man did that which was right in his own eyes;" so that *Jus gladii*, the right of the sword, in case of defection, returneth to them again, so far as to see that justice be duly executed. And therefore if both the fluxus and refluxus of authority, be from and to the people, then must they needs be under God the first seat, subject and receptacle of civil power.

But the scripture tells us, that the powers that be, are ordained of God, Rom. xiii. 1. And if ordained of God, then not of man, nor by any fluxus, or appointment from or of man.

Not to speak of the word το ταγμενα, which signifies rather ordered then ordained: government is of God two ways, either by immediate donation, as that of Moses, or by mediate derivation, as that of the judges, and kings of Israel. The government of princes now is not by immediate donation, or designation, but by immediate derivation, and so it is both of God and man too, as Fortescue speaks, *Quicquid facit causa secunda, facit et causa prima.*

But the Doctor tells us, that kings at first were not by choice of the people, but that election was a defection from, and a disturbance to that natural way of descent of governing: kingly power by a paternal right; page 9. of his Reply. That monarchial government is not a mere invention of man, as democracy and aristocracy are, but that it is rather *ductu naturæ* though not *jure naturæ*, we being led thereunto through the veins of nature in a paternal or fatherly rule, page 8. as is plain by the book of God, that the first fathers of mankind, were the first kings and rulers. For we see, saith he, that the earth was divided amongst Noah and his three sons, and still as they increased, new colonies were sent out, who had the government both regal and sacerdotal by primogeniture: whence it appears, saith he, that monarchy was the first government, it being late ere any popular rule, aristocratical or democratical, appeared in the world. And that monarchy, how ever we cannot say that it was

jure divino, yet it was *exemplo divino*, the government which God set up over his people, being monarchical still in Moses, the judges and the kings of Israel, page 8.

Whereas the Doctor saith, that the first kings were not by the choice of the people at the first, page 8, and that popular election was a kind of defection from and a disturbance to that natural way, &c. I refer Dr Fearne unto Dr Fearne, who saith both in his first and second book, page 67. of his Reply, it is probable that kings at first were by election here as elsewhere. This I have spoke to already, and shall speak to yet afterwards; neither do we take it unkindly that the Doctor cannot agree with us, seeing he cannot agree with himself.

Whereas he saith, monarchial government is not a mere invention of man, as aristocracy and democracy are, I refer him to what he saith himself: for in his first book, page 13, 14, he saith: We must distinguish power itself, and the qualification of that power in several forms of government: if we consider the qualification of this governing power, and the manner of executing it, according to the several forms of government, we granted it before to be the invention of man. And when such a qualification or form is orderly agreed upon, we say it hath God's permissive approbation. Yet in his Reply he makes this form of monarchical government, rather an appointment of God, both *ductu naturo*, and *exemplo divino*, and not a mere invention of man, as other forms of government are. Here I must leave him to agree with himself.

Whereas he saith: That the first fathers of mankind, were the first kings and rulers: for we see the earth divided amongst Noah's three sons, &c.; I refer him for information to 1 Chron. i. 10. where it is said expressly of Nimrod, that he began to be mighty upon the earth; whereas if Noah and his sons were kings, their dominions being greater before the division of the earth into after colonies, they should have been more mighty than he. And what his might was, is declared to us, Gen. x. 10. And the beginning of his kingdom was Babel, &c. Here is the first time, as Mendoza well observes, that we read of a kingdom after the flood, and that is marked with a מרד, *Rebellavit:* For Nimrod comes of מרד, to rebel, as if in erecting his kingdom, he had rebelled against the way of government which before was used

if not appointed. And it should seem strange if God had appointed that way of government, by making the sons of Noah, kings; that Cham, from whom came Nimrod, who was that cursed and wicked posterity of Noah, should keep that government alive which was set up by God; and that Shem, who was the godly posterity of Noah, from whom came Abraham, should not: for we read not that Abraham was a king, or that his government was monarchical, but rather the contrary, as 1 Chron. i. 43. "Now these are the kings that reigned in the land of Edom, before any king reigned over the children of Israel." To this purpose Mendoza* writeth who saith, Before the descent into Egypt, the Jews did not constitute a commonwealth, but a family: for, as Aristotle, a commonwealth did not arise but from a conjunction of many families; but then Abraham's family was one, to which Isaac's succeeded, and to that the house of Jacob. And although in Jacob's time, after several marriages, there sprang up divers families, the government of all which could not be œconomical or domestical, yet were there not so many families as could constitute any political commonwealth, but a middle kind of community, which is called Vitalis, or Collectanea. Yea in Section 6. he proves out of Austin, Anton, Isidore, &c. that kingly government fell in the fourth age of the world: and therefore Rupertus compares the fourth age of the world to the fourth day of the creation, because as that did shine with stars, so this with kings.†

And whereas the Doctor tells us, that this regal monarchial government is natural, though not *jure* yet *ductu naturæ*, we being led thereunto through the veins of nature, in a paternal or fatherly rule, as is plain by the books of God, that the first fathers of mankind were kings, and so regal government to descend upon the first born by primogeniture as their families increased and spread further, &c. page 8.

* Ante discensum in Egyptum in quo Hebræi non rempublicam sed familiam constituebat: Nam (ut arist) non nisi ex multis familiis coalescit respub. tunc autem una erat Abrahæ domus, in quam successit Isaac, et in hanc domus Jacob, et quamvis in tempore Jacob: post connubia plures jam familiæ darentur, quarum omnium gubernatio non potuit esse œconomica, tamen non erant ita multæ ut politicum rempublicam conflarent, sed mediani quandam commitatem quam vitalem seu collectaneam appellant.—Mendoza, Tom i. Annot. 3. Proem. § 10.

† Quia ut hoc sideribus, ita illa regibus fulgurant.—Proem. § 6.

I refer him to what Molina and Pineda say; Molina* will tell him that power is of two sorts, some that hath its rise *ex solo jure naturali,* and therefore called natural, as the power of the father over his children, and those that descend from him: other power there is, which hath its origination from the will of men, they being willing to subject themselves to the supreme, and is therefore called a civil power. So that paternal and civil power are not the same, but have two originals.

And if monarchial government should be by paternal right, then is it not only *ductu, sed jure natura; ductus naturæ* is that whereby we are led to any thing by the principles of nature: and that which we are led to by the principles of nature, is *jure naturæ*: for *naturale est,* says the philosopher, *quod fluit ex principiis naturæ.* And so the *membra dividentia* should interfere, whereas they ought to be fully opposite. Besides, if paternal government do lead us to regal, and monarchial, then kings should and ought to rule as arbitrarily in their kingdoms, as fathers do in their families: and if subjects do deny this arbitrary power to them, they sin, because they are led thereunto by nature, and so all the kingdoms of the world should lie in this sin: for in what kingdom of the world doth a king rule as arbitrarily as a father in his family?

Again, this contrivance of government by the Doctor, supposes that the eldest man, or father after the flood, though he were never so silly and weak, should be king, and that this regal government must necessarily descend upon the first-born, by virtue of primogeniture.

For this I refer him to Pineda,* where at large in his book, *de rebus Salomonis,* he may read Pineda proving that among the

* Quædam namque potestas est quæ ortum habet ex solo jure naturali, quæ de causa potestas naturalis dicitur talis est potestas patris in filios et in alios descendentes alia vero est quæ ortum habet ex hominum voluntatibus se iili subjicere voluntium et id circo civilis potestas dicitur.—Molina de Jure et Just. Disp. xx. Trac. 2.

† Ex succedentium linea in qua paucissimos invenies primogenitos succedentes parentibus, quare Abulensis aperte fatetur se retractare communem sententiam quam ipse aliquando sequuntus fuisset, et jam tunc asserere successionem in regnum aut principatum nunquam fuisse alligatum aut debitum primogenitis, et confirmat ex eo quod, Paralip. i. 5, 1. Primogenita Reuben data fuere Josephi, filiis et tamen Juda regnabat.—Pineda de Rebus Salomonis, lib. ii. cap. 1. Ipso naturæ jure omnes æqualiter filios patri succedere docuit.—Arist. 7 Ethick. De-

Israelites the crown did not descend upon the first-born, but was always disposed of according to the will of the parent, appointing it to this or that child; where he brings in Abulensis retracting his opinion, and professing that though he did formerly think that the crown did descend upon the first-born by virtue of primogeniture, yet at the last he was of another sentence, because it is said, 1 Chron. v. 1. 2, Reuben the first-born of Israel, because he defiled his father's bed, his birthright was given to the sons of Joseph; yet, verse 2, Judah "prevailed above his brethren, and of him came the chief rulers."

Now as they argue, if the crown belonged to the first-born, as part of the birthright that should have been given unto the sons of Joseph; unto whom it is here said expressly the birthright was given: but the rule and crown was given unto another tribe, arguing that it was no part of the birthright, or any necessary *annexum* to the primogeniture in those days.

This doctrine Pineda proves by examining the series of all the kings, instancing especially in Solomon who was appointed king by David, notwithstanding he was not David's eldest son; and Abiah who was appointed by Rehoboam, though Rehoboam had many elder children, as he clears from 2 Chron. xi. 18—22.

Whereas the Doctor saith, This monarchial government was the first government that God set up; in Moses, the judges, and kings of Israel, and so though not *jure divino*, yet *exemplo divino*, I confess I cannot but wonder at the conceit, seeing the difference between the government of judges and kings is so abundantly made out by Car. Sigonius, Feverdentius, Ranervus, Abulensis, and many others. Sigonius saith expressly,* the first government among the Hebrews was by the chief of the people, and after by kings; that by the Greeks, being called aristocracy, and this monarchy; aris-

creto item et voluntate divina indiscriminatim Salomonis posteritati pollicetur. Deus regnum sed ubi plures erunt filii ad solum parentis voluntatem spectasse videntur.

Abulensis addit posteriorum regum tempore in valescente consuetudinem hæreditarium regni jus ad primogenitos de volutum esse; ego vero perpetuum fuisse existimo ut regni successor ex parentis arbitrio et voluntate penderet ut ex serie regum patet.—Pineda de Rebus Salomonis, lib. ii. cap. 1, 2, 3.

* Ceterum cum deforma reipub. quæritur nihil aliud quæritur nisi penes quem principatum summa rerum fuerit constituta; hæc vero apud Hæbreos primum

tocracy, saith he, was under the judges, Joshua and others, monarchy under kings, which aristocratical government of theirs, is signified to us by these words, "These are the statutes and judgments which ye shall observe to do in the land which the Lord thy God giveth thee," Deut. xii. 1; then verse 8, "Ye shall not do after all the things that we do here this day, every man whatsoever is right in his own eyes." And indeed if the Israelites were under monarchial government in the times of the judges and monarchy was then on foot; why should they desire it as another kind of government which yet they had not, 1 Sam. viii., saying to Samuel, "Now make us a king to judge us, like all the nations," verse 5. By which it appears that the government which they had before, under the judges, was not monarchial as that which they had afterwards.

Let no man, therefore, swallow this principle so often inculcated by the Doctor, that the government of Israel under judges was monarchial. For though some of the judges were called kings, yet, as Drusius and others observe, the word king was taken either more strictly for monarchs, or more largely for such captains and governors as did rule over them. Surely God, at the first, by all we can read in the Scripture, was pleased to appoint magistracy itself, and left the children of men free to set up that way and form of government which in prudence might best correspond with their condition, still making people the first subject and receptacle of civil power. In proof whereof I have staid the longer, it being the foundation of all this controversy. And now pass on to another proposition, which is,

Seeing that the people are, under God, the first subject of civil power, therefore the prince or supreme magistrate hath no more power than what is communicated to him from the community, because the effect doth not exceed the virtue of its cause.*

Again, As the prince hath no more power than what is communicated from the community, so the people or commu-

penes optimates posita fuit deinde penes reges quorum principatum illum aristocracium, hoc regnum Greci vocarunt, aristocratia fuit sub Mose, Josua, senioribus et judicibus, regnum sub regibus de aristocratia significant Moses: Deut. xii., cum dixit non facietis, &c.—Car. Sigon. lib. i. c. 5.

* Effectus non excedit virtutem causæ suæ.

nity cannot give away from themselves the power of self-preservation; because the same commandment that saith, Thou shalt not kill; doth also say, Thou shalt preserve. Precepts that forbid evil, do command the contrary good. Now the moral, natural law of God forbids a man to kill himself, and therefore commands him to preserve himself; and as by a positive act men cannot make a law to kill themselves, no more can they not to preserve themselves, the one being as strongly commanded by the moral law, and as deeply seated in nature as the other. Because, also, if the community should give away the power of self-preservation, the state should not be in a better but in a worser condition than before. The king and prince is taken into office for the good of the people, therefore called *pater patria*, and *pastor gregis;* not because he may arbitrarily rule in the commonwealth as a father doth in his family, but because of his tender care that he is to have over his people, and that the people might live more secure and peaceably in all godliness and honesty. But if the community should give such a trust to any one that they might not at all defend themselves beyond his actual appointment, they should be infinitely in a worser condition than before, because before such trust they should be freemen, but after the trust they should be slaves, unless it pleases the king, through his own gracious condescension, to let them be free still: for what is a slave but such an one who is so absolutely at the power of another's command, that he may be spoiled, or sold, or put under the gallies, and there beaten daily, having no power to make any resistance or self-defence. It is, again, agreeable to the law of nations and reason, that no inferior court can undo what a superior court hath done. As where an estate is settled upon children by act of parliament, no inferior court of justice can cut off the entail. Now self-preservation is enacted in the court of nature, as he that hath read Magirus unbound, I mean common natural principles will grant, and therefore no act of a community can cut off this entail from their posterity, or make such a deed of conveyance, whereby themselves and their children should be spoiled of self-preservation.

But though by nature a man is bound to preserve himself, yet he may destroy or put himself upon that which will be his destruction, for the public good; doth not *natura particularis* go cross to its own disposition, *ne detur vacuum?*

I answer, True, I have read indeed that *natura particularis* gives way to *natura universalis*, but never heard before that *natura universalis* gives way to *natura particularis*, or that *natura universalis* doth seek its own destruction, or lose the power of self preservation for the good or betterness of some particular nature. Wherefore if the seat of power be in the community, and therefore no more power in the supreme than was and is derived from the community, and the people cannot give away the power of self-preservation: then in case the prince doth neglect his trust, so as not to preserve them, but to oppose them to violence, it is no usurpation for them to look to themselves, which yet may be no act of jurisdiction over their prince, or taking away of any power from him which they gave him, but is in truth a stirring up, acting and exercising of that power which always was left in themselves.

CHAPTER II.

HAVING now spoken of power in general, I shall say somewhat of the governing and ruling power of England; yet because that concerns the parliament to declare, which they have done, and lawyers for to clear, which they do; I shall but touch upon it, and no more than comes within the compass and verge, I do not say of a divine, but subject. I find therefore in learned Fortescue, lord chief justice, and after lord chancellor in the time of king Henry VI., that he doth distinguish of governed or ruling power into two sorts, the one merely royal, and the other politic: When kingdoms are ruled by royal government, saith he,* then men in times past, excelling in power and greedy of dignity and glory, did many

* Homines quandam potentia per pollentes, avidi dignitatis et gloriæ vicinas sæpe gentes sibi viribus subjugarunt ac ipsis servire obtemperare quoque; jussionibus suis compulerunt quas jussiones ex tunc leges hominibus illis esse ipsi sanctierunt.—Fortescue de Laudibus Legum Angl. c. xii.

Ad tutelam namq. legis subditarum et eorum corpus et bonorum rex homini erectus est, et ad hanc potestatem a populo efluxam ipse hæc, quo einon licet potestate alia suo populo dominari.—Ibid, c. xiii.

Principatum namq. nedum regali sed et politica, ipse suo populo dominatur.—Ibid, c. 9.

times by plain force subdue unto themselves their neighbours the nations adjoining, and compelled them to do them service and to obey their commands, which commands they deereed afterwards to be unto the people very laws, cap. xii. The form of institution of a politic kingdom is, that were a king is made and ordained for the defence of the law of his subjects, and of their bodies and goods, whereunto he receiveth power of his people, for that he cannot govern his people by any other power, cap. xiii. Now, saith he, the king of England cannot alter or change the laws of his realm at his pleasure, for he governeth his people by power, not only royal but also politic. And accordingly William the Conqueror, to go no higher, in whose entrance to the crown Dr. Fearne makes the first contrivement of his English government for conscience to rest upon, seems to me to have possessed himself of this kingdom, who though he did conquer the same, yet the first claim or title that he laid to this crown was gift, which Edward the Confessor had made to him; Harold the former king having promised the crown also to him.* In this right, he first set foot on the English shore, not in the right of a conquest, but in the right of a gift and promise, as Speed, Camden, and others affirm. And afterwards, when he had obtained the crown, he swore to use and practise the same good laws of Edward for the common laws of this realm; notwithstanding, saith Mr. Fox, amongst the said laws I find in ancient records this was part, That the king, because he is vicar of the highest King, is appointed to rule the kingdom, and the Lord's people, to defend the holy church; which unless he do, the name of a king agrees not to him, but he loseth the name of a king, &c.*

Again, As the king and conqueror came into the kingdom by this claim, so we find, that in those times the consent and choice of the people was in use for the establishing of kings amongst them: for when William I. sent to Harold to make good his promise, Harold answered that he was rightful king, as being so by the consent and choice of the people, as is reported by Camden in his Britannia, thus: As concerning the promise of king Edward, William is to understand, that

* Fox Act. Monum. of Will. Conqueror.

† Ex lib. regum antiquorum in Pretorio Londinensi. Mr. Fox's Act. Monum. ibid.

the realm of England could not be given by promise, neither ought I to be tied to the said promise, seeing the kingdom is fallen to me by election, and not inheritance. And as for his own stipulation, he said, it was extorted from him by force; neither he if he could, nor might if he would, make it good, seeing it was done without the consent of the people. Yea, histories tell us, that when William I. had beaten Harold in the field, the people still were in doubt whom they should choose and set up for their king: For, says Guliel. Malmsburiens,* Edwin and Morcard came to London, and solicited the city that they would prefer one of them to the kingdom; and the rest of the nobles would have chosen Edgar, if the bishops would have stuck to them: but the English, who then might have healed the ruins of the kingdom, whilst they would none of their own, brought in a stranger. So that though William I. had gotten the field, yet was not he brought to the crown, but with the consent and choice, though much overpowered and over-awed, of the people. So says Speed expressly: Consent thus gotten, and all voices given for William, he was crowned king at Westminster.

Further, As the crown in those days was obtained by the consent and choice of the people, so, I say, that even William the Conqueror did not come to the crown without all conditions: for the Kentish men would not receive him but upon condition, which they proposed thus: Most noble duke, behold here the commons of Kent are come forth to meet and receive you as their sovereign, requiring your peace, their own free condition or estate, and their ancient laws formerly used. If these be denied, they are here presently to abide the verdict of battle, fully resolved rather to die than to depart with their laws, or to live servile in bondage, which name and nature is, and ever shall be strange unto us, and not to be endured. The conqueror driven to these straits, and loth to hazard all on so nice a point, more wisely than willingly granted their desires, and pledges on both parts given for performance. So saith Speed in his Chronicles,† so that it

* Nam præcedentibus diebus Edwinus et Morcardus apud London audito interritus Haroldi nuntio urbanos solicita verunt ut alterutrum in regnum sublevarent, cæteri proceres Edgarum eligerent si episcopos hererent, sed Angli qui in unam cœuntes sententiam potuissent patriæ reso mare ruinam dum nullum ex fois volebant induxerunt alienum.—Gui. Malms. de Will. primo, lib. iii. p. 102.

† Speed's Chronicles of William the Conqueror.

is plain, that even William I. came not to the full crown of England without all conditions, and therefore our kings and princes, pleading their right from him, cannot be kings and princes without all conditions. I know Dr. Fearne tells us, that the king's oath imports no condition, but is taken for confirmation and strengthening of mutual duties; whether that be true, let any judge that reads but these things. And indeed, if the kings of England were such absolute monarchs, as that no resistance might be made to their commandments for the taking up of arms for the defence of the country, when enjoined by parliament, then the subjects and people of England must lose this power of self-defence, for they once had it; all men by nature having a power to defend themselves; either by conquest, as being by force spoiled thereof, or else they give it away by some indenture at the election of the prince, for inheritance is but succession of election, inheritance, or immediate donation from God, or else God hath forbidden this forcible resistance by Scripture. If it be said that this people are spoiled thereof by conquest, and are as a people merely conquered; then any other sword that is longer than the prince's, may fetch back that power again. If it be said that this people give away this power by indenture at the first election of their prince, then let men shew us that indenture. If it be said that God hath forbidden such a forcible resistance by Rom. xiii. 1—3, or the like scriptures; then it must be affirmed that the parliament are not the higher powers, which Dr. Fearne granteth: for if the parliament come within the compass of those words, "higher powers," then that scripture, Rom. xiii., doth not reach them, but rather requires others to be obedient to them: yea, if by "the higher powers," is understood only the king, then the two houses may not make any forcible resistance against any petty constable that comes in the king's authority to do violence to the two houses. Surely, therefore, this and the like scriptures are much abused, the meaning being only to command obedience to authority in all things that tend to the encouragement of good and punishment of evil; and therefore there is such a power in the subjects, both by the law of nature and constitution of the kingdom, to take up arms when the state, or two houses express it, notwithstanding the expression of any one man to the contrary.

CHAPTER III.

Having shewed the nature of power in general, in Chapter I., and the way and manner of England's government in some measure in Chapter II., I now come to the vindication of the truth, as opposed by Dr. Fearne in his last book, called, Conscience Satisfied, wherein he spends the seven former chapters mostly in answer to a book called, A Fuller Answer. In Sect. VIII. he comes to examine such grounds as I premised for the lawfulness of parliamentary proceedings in taking up arms as now they do. That I may not weary the reader in turning from book to book, I shall sometimes briefly set down what I had written, then his reply, then give my answer unto it.

Mr. Bridge tells us, saith the Doctor, that there are three grounds of their proceeding by arms: to fetch in delinquents to their trial, to secure the state from foreign invasion, to preserve themselves from popish rebellion. Dr. Fearne replieth: Yet this must be done in an orderly and legal way; and if conscience would speak the truth, it could not say that any delinquents were denied or withheld, till the militia was seized, and a great delinquent, in the matter of Hull, was denied to be brought to trial at his majesty's instance.

I answer, How true this is that the Doctor writes, the world knows I need not say: the parliament to this day never denied to try any that were accused by the king, so that they might be tried legally by himself and the two houses, which is the known privilege of every parliament-man according to law.

But, says Dr. Fearne, Mr. Bridge tells us, All this is done as an act of self preservation, not as an act of jurisdiction over their prince; and the Fuller Answer would have us believe they are enabled to it by law, and constitution of this government, and that they do it by an act of judgment: let him and Mr. Bridge agree it.

There needs no great skill to untie this knot, nor mediator to make us friends; the parliament hath raised this army by an act of judgment and jurisdiction, not over their prince, but in regard of delinquents: so the same act may be a work of jurisdiction in regard of others, and yet an act of preser-

vation in regard of ourselves. The execution of any malefactor in an ordinary way of law is both preservation to the state, and a work of jurisdiction in regard of the offender, so here; yet I do not say it is a work of jurisdiction over our prince, but in regard of delinquents that are about him.

Dr. Fearne says, Mr. Bridge gives us proofs for this way of self-preservation from the law of nature, it being natural to a man, and so to a community to defend itself. And were this argument good, then might private men and the people without the parliament take up arms and resist, for self-preservation is natural to them.

It follows not, because, though I say every thing may defend itself by nature, yet I say also it must do it *modo suo et naturæ suæ convenienti*; we say that all creatures do defend themselves, and it is natural so to do; yet we do not therefore say that a beast defends himself in the same manner as a man doth, or a man as a beast, but in a way suitable to every nature. Now if a private person be in danger to be oppressed by a prince, flying is more fit defence for him, and therefore saith our Saviour, "If they persecute thee in one city, fly to another:" but if the state be wronged and oppressed, which is a public grievance, then the state, and those that represent them are more fit to take up arms for its preservation. For nature in general teacheth self-preservation; nature specificated teacheth this or that preservation: now the nature of a community, and of a particular person are distinct, and therefore though I say a community is to defend itself because *sui tutela* is natural to every thing; yet I do not say, that a particular private person may ordinarily defend himself in that way which is most suitable to the community as the taking up of arms is, yet I suppose no moderate man will deny this, that the subjects, though, not invested with authority have a power to keep out an enemy from landing in case of foreign invasion, yea though the king's officers should be negligent therein; or so malicious and treacherous as to forbid them to defend themselves and their country.

Again, saith the Doctor, he proves it by scripture 1 Chron. xii. 19. where the word of God saith expressly, that "David went out against Saul to battle," but he was Saul's subject at that time. A desperate undertaking to make peo-

ple believe this is express scripture for subjects to go out to battle against their king. But he should have added what is expressed there, it was with the Philistines that he went out, and that he helped them not, for he did but make shew of tendering his service to Achish.

Here I need give no other answer than repeat those words fully that he replies to, which were these, which scripture I bring not to prove that a subject may take up arms against the king, but that the subjects may take up arms against those that are malignant about the king's person, notwithstanding the king's command to the contrary. For seeing that David's heart smote him formerly for cutting off the lap of Saul's garment, and yet it is said in express words in this text that he went out against Saul, it is likely that his intentions were against those that were evil and wicked about him.

Then the Doctor brings in another piece of my argument, not the whole reason or the sense of it, thus, "Be subject to the higher powers," Rom. xiii. but the parliament is the highest court of justice, page 3. To which he replies, *modo suo*, well assumed, and so it is, for is not the highest court of justice an higher power? We grant, saith the Doctor, there is a subjection due to them, and if he meant by the parliament the three estates concurring, all manner of subjection is due unto them. It is well he will acknowledge any subjection due to the parliament without the third estate. And if any subjection, then they have some authority, but none they can have, if not power to bring in the accused to be tried before them. And if they have power to bring in twenty by force, then one hundred, then one thousand, then ten thousand, which cannot be done without raising an army.

Then he undertakes, says the Doctor, to shew out of scripture, that kings receive their power from the people, and hath the ill hap to light on Saul, David and Solomon for examples.

The Doctor hath the ill hap always to miss the argument which lay thus: If it be the duty of the king to look to the safety of the kingdom, and that because he is trusted therewith by the commonwealth; then if the parliament be immediately trusted by the commonwealth with the safety thereof as well as the king, though not so much, then are they to

look to it, and to use all means for the preservation thereof, as well as the king. But so it is that the king is bound to look to the safety thereof, and that because he is intrusted therewith, as was Saul, David and Solomon, who came to their government by the consent and choice of the people. Whereupon the Doctor replies, He hath the ill hap to light on Saul, David and Solomon.

But it seems the Doctor had not the good hap to meet with these several authors which affirm that even these kings, Saul, David and Solomon, were chosen by the people, if he had read or minded them, he would not have imputed this as an ill hap unto me for to light on these examples. I will give him but the testimony of Mendoza* who though not of our judgment in this matter, yet ingenuously confesses, that with great probability authors do reason for a popular choice of Saul, David and Solomon. Whereas saith Mendoza, it is objected, that Samuel by anointing Saul without any consent of the people, saying, The Lord hath anointed thee king over his heritage, did thereby clearly shew, that the regal power was conferred upon Saul, not from the people, but from God; that is easily answered, that that unction was not a sign of power already conferred, but to be conferred, as may be proved by the anointing of David, whom Samuel anointed, 1 Kings xvi. 13, during Saul's reign, yea while he had many years to reign. Whereby it appears that David did not receive regal power by that unction, but by that which he had afterward by all the tribes and elders; when coming to Hebron they anointed David king over Israel; therefore that

* Quod si objiciis Samuelem ungendo, Saulem absque ullo populi consensu, ac dicendo ecce unxit te Dominus super hæreditatem suam in principam, 1 Reg. x. 1., manifeste indicasse regiam potestatem Sauli collatam non a populo, sed a Deo immediate profectam esse; facile responderi potest illam unctionem non fuisse signum potestatis collatæ sed conferendæ, ut probati potest ex unctione Davidis quem Samuel unxit, 1 Reg. xvi. 13, regnante adhuc Saule, imo multis post annis regnaturo. Unde per eam unctionem non accepit David regiam potestatem, sed per eam quæ postea facta est ab universis tribubus, et senioribus, quando venientes in Hebron unxerunt David in regem super Israel. 2 Reg. v. 3. Quare illa prior unctio non fuit collatio regiæ potestatis, sed tantum significatio quædam hujus posterioris unctionis, per quam conferenda erat illa regia potestas; sic igitur et prima illa Saulis unctio ante populi consensum, non significavit regium potestatem collatam, sed conferendam, quando scilicet omnis populos a Samuele congregatus in Mispeh, suum præbuit consensum, et clamavit vivat rex. Ita possunt pro hac parte ejus auctores non parum probabiliter argumentari.—Mendoza in 1 Reg. viii. 5, p. 582.

first unction was not the conferring the regal power, but only a signification of this latter unction, by which this kingly power was to be derived or conveyed: so also that first anointing of Saul before the consent of the people, did not signify the kingly power already conferred, but to be conferred upon him, to wit, when all being gathered together by Samuel to Mispeh, gave their consent, and cried out, Let the king live.

Dr. Fearne says, He hath found an example and proof for the trust of parliament in David's time, 1 Chron. xiii. 1, 2, because David consults with the captains and leaders which were officers not of the king, but kingdom, but those were officers of the king and kingdom, merely designed by him, not the people, and called by him to that trust, page 43, 44.

True, I have found an example indeed in David's time for what I alleged: namely, that there were then certain officers of the kingdom, not of the king only, and though under him, yet were they with him trusted with the affairs of the kingdom. This also was the judgment of the protestant divines in France. whose testimony I shall relate afterwards; of Junius, Josephus, Brutus, Zepperus, Sigonius, and many others. Zepperus saith thus,* that in Saul, David and Solomon's time, and so before the captivity, the kingdom of Israel was mixed with aristocracy, for it had a senate of seventy, or great synedrim, which sat at Jerusalem, whose judges were called princes, who, sitting by the king, did dispatch the great affairs of the kingdom, unto whom was referred the choice of the king and high priest, and matters of war and other things greatly concerning the people. Of this synedrim Josephus saith, *Nihil agat rex sine senatorum sententia*, yea, these senators were in such place with the king, that they were called his friends and brethren. 1 Chron. ii. 2. And though the Doctor says, those officers in David's time were designed by the king, not the people, yet if we look to the original in Deut. i. 13, we find that the people did first give

* Hujus autem temporis respub. monarchica fuit, aristocratia tamen permixta et accesset aliquid etiam democraticum, habuit enim senatum septuagint, cujus judices patricii et principes vocantur; regi assidentes summum regni, judicium conficiebant, ad quod difficiliores causæ, regis et pontificis electio, belligerendi consultatio, alia que totum populi corpus concernentia referrebantur. De hoc synedrio Josephus nihil agit ex sine senatorum sententia fuerunt que hi eo apud reges loco, ut fratres eos suas dicerent.—Zepperus Mosaic. foren. Expla. l. 3, c. 6.

them to Moses before he did make them rulers, for, verse 13, Moses, relating the first constitution of that government, saith, I said unto you, give me wise men, and understanding and known men among your tribes, and I will make them rulers over you: the English translation readeth, Take ye wise men, the Hebrew is, Give ye us, as Montanus hath it; and when they had given them to Moses, he saith, verse 15, So I received them; so is the Hebrew: he would not make any rulers over them, but such as he had first received from them, and they had given unto him, and so though at the first it pleased God to appoint those rulers or council of state called the sanedrym or synedrion, whereupon Mendoza saith, that they were equal to Moses being appointed by God as Moses was, Numb. xi. 14, 15, 16.* Yet that was by and with the consent and choice of the people, not merely by appointment of the king, as our Doctor would. Car. Sigonius will tell him,† out of the Talmudists, and other divines, that he had searched into, that this synedrion, or college of elders, did represent the sceptre, that the sceptre itself did depend on it, that none did judge the tribe and the sceptre, but this house of judgment. To this purpose Gerard shews,‡ that this synedrion was chosen of the chief men of Israel, in whom was power of judging controversies, exercising of public justice, yea, of choosing and deposing kings: and therefore of the Talmudists, this council was called the house of judgment, or the house of the sceptre and public authority. And Zepperus, with Dr. Bilson, saith,‖ this synedrion continued with that people of God unto the time of Herod, Josephus being witness. I press not so much as these authors speak of, but whether there were not in those times of David, *officiarii regni*, which were not merely designed by the king: and what inference I do make from thence, let conscience judge.

* Dedit illis Deus seniores, qui per omnia illi equales forent, ut patet.—Numb. xi. 14.

† Et in ipsis sceptrum ipsum pendebat, nemo autem dijudicat tribum sceptrum, &c. nisi domus judicii.—Car. Sig. lib. v. c. 7.

‡ Penes quos erat summa potestas judicandi controversas et exercendi judicia publici, quin et leges elegendi, et deponendi, unde a talmodistis vocatur domus judicii magna, vel collegium sceptri et publici potestatis.—Gerard de Eccles. pol.

‖ Hoc seniorum synedrian perpetuum fuit in populo Dei, usque ad Herodem teste Josepho.—Zepperus, lib. iii. c. 5. So Dr. Bilson of Subjection and Rebellion, page 338.

Again, whereas I argue from the being and nature of parliament, that if it hath not power to send for by force, those that are accused to be tried before them, that should not be a court of justice; seeing that even inferior courts have a power to force those before them that are to be tried: and if the parliament may send one sergeant-at-arms, then twenty, then a hundred, then a thousand, &c. The Doctor replies: Therefore inferior courts have a power to raise arms. I answer, this follows not: for though I say every court hath power to force in the accused, yet it must be in a way suitable. Now this raising of arms is not suitable unto an inferior court, but to the parliament, being a more national and public court than any other is. The Doctor tells us indeed, that other courts have their *posse comitatus*. So the parliament have their orders, to fetch and force in the accused, which are established by law, as well as his *posse comitatus* is. But saith the Doctor: I did not know before that all the parliament soldiers were sergeants-at-arms. I answer, how doth he catch at the word, and let the sense go; the sense, scope and drift of the argument, was to shew, that as they might send forth one, who by force should fetch in the accused, by the same reason they may send forth ten; and by the same reason that they may send forth ten, they may send forth twenty, so a hundred, so a thousand, so ten thousand. The Doctor puts off the argument with a jeer, because he hath no list to meddle with the reason.

In page 45, he would enervate the testimonies of divines, which I brought to shew that all protestant divines were of one mind. Let us see, therefore, what he saith to them. And first he begins with the testimony of the German divines, and for that, saith he: The testimony of the Centurist speaks nothing to this purpose. A short answer, soon and easily given. But, why nothing to our purpose? Nay, stay there, the Doctor will keep his reason to himself. I set down therefore the testimony again, and let men judge whether it be to the purpose. Governors, say they, in such things as are repugnant to the law of God, have no power or immunity above other private men, and they themselves commanding that which is evil, have no power or immunity above others; yea, they themselves commanding that which is evil, are as much bound to fear the ordinance of God, bearing the sword for the punish-

ment of vice: for St Paul, Rom. xiii., saith that God did institute and ordain a power both of defending that which is good, and punishing that which is evil; and he commands that every soul, and so the governors themselves should be subject to this ordinance of God if they would be defended by it, and not by their wicked deeds, makes themselves liable to punishment.*

Of the French and Low Country divines, he brings no testimony, saith the Doctor, but for proof tells us we know their practice; so I for answer may return him his own words; we know what hath been the practice of those protestants, and so they are parties interested, not so fit to give in witness.

Very well, if they be parties interested, and so not fit to give in witness, then they are of our judgment: observe, reader, here he granteth that the protestant churches, and the divines of France and the Low Countries, are parties interested, and so of our judgment; what protestant churches or divines then will he allege for his sentence? Will he have the divines of Switzerland? I brought a testimony of the divines of the council of Basil, and that he doth not contradict: are the divines of Geneva of his mind? I brought the testimony of Calvin; that he saith nothing to, but it passeth with him as granted by him. Are the divines of Scotland? I brought him the testimony of Mr. Buchanan, that testimony also he doth not deny; it may be that was but one, and so he would not take notice of it; read therefore what Mr. Knox saith: Because this occasion is laid against God's true ministers, we cannot but witness what trade and order of doctrine they have kept and keep in that point; they affirm that if wicked persons abusing the authority established by God, command things manifestly wicked, that such as may and do, bridle this inordinate appetite of princes, cannot be accused as resisteries of authority, which is God's

* Gubernationes ergo in iis rebus quæ cum decalogo et justis legibus pugnant, nihil juris aut immunitatis habent præ cæteris hominibus privatis, et perpetrantes id quod malum est, coguntur tam metuere ordinationem Dei, gladium præstantem ad vindictam nocentium, quam alii hones privum nam Paulus Rom. xiii. docet. Deum ordinasse et instituisse potestatem illam gladio defendendi bonum, et puniendi malum, et præcipit, ut omnis anima (et sic gubernatores) tali Dei ordinationi sit subjecta; hoc est obligat ad faciendum bonum, si velit defendi ista Dei ordinatione, et non ob sua facinora impia puniri.—Magdeburgensis Cent. l. 20.

good ordinance, to bridle the fury and rage of princes in free kingdoms and realms. They affirm it appertaineth to nobility, sworn and born councils of the same, and also to the barons and people, whose wills and consents are to be required in all great matters of the commonwealth: which if they do not, they declare themselves criminal with their princes, and subject to the same vengeance of God. This was the doctrine and judgment of the divines in Scotland, in the beginning of the Reformation, as related by Mr. Knox.* And what the judgment of the Scots divines is for the present, seeing he will not take practice for testimony of judgment, he may read in their answer to Lysimachus Nicanour† thus: As for the lawfulness of resistance, he may understand that that hath been the tenet of our church since the Reformation; it hath been the right and practice of our kingdoms, since the first foundation. A number of instances thereof are approved in our standing acts of parliament, unrepealed to this day. It hath been the practice of all reformed churches abroad, wherein by queen Elizabeth, king James, and king Charles, they have been all allowed, and the most of them allowed by powerful assistance both with men and money. To this purpose Mr. Rutherford also, as I have shewed already, Chap. I.

But it may be the Doctor will tell us that the Scottish divines are also parties, and interested in the cause. Very good. We shall shortly have a great party in the protestant churches for us and with us; what divines then are against us in the Doctor's opinion? Are the divines of England? He tells us also page 45, yet do some of them allow of resistance in some cases: good still; by and by it will arise to somewhat, here is yet more of our party, as the Doctor calls them, by his own confession. As for the testimonies that I brought of Dr. Bilson, and Dr. Willet, he saith, That is plain they speak of such government, such states, such cases as will not agree to this kingdom at this time. But why not, the Doctor will not tell us. If I tell him that Peter Martyr also professor of divinity in England, was of our judgment, as he may read plainly,‡ he will tell me, it may be,

* Mr. Knox's History of the Church of Scotland, p. 343.

† Answer to Lysimachus Nicanour, p. 8.

‡ Peter Martyr in Judg. c. i.

that Peter Martyr speaks not of this time, or of this case, or of this state: if I refer him to Polanus,* who writes largely in this matter with us, it may be he will tell us also that Polanus speaks not to our case, to our time, or to our state: but I refer him to Barcley and Hugo Grotius who well knew the judgment of the Low Country divines; I suppose the Doctor will not say those are parties: Barcleus, saith Hugo Grotius,† the most strong defender of regal empire, yet descends thus far to yield unto the people, and the chief part of them a power to defend themselves against immane cruelty, when yet notwithstanding he confesses that the people are subject unto the king: and as for me, saith Hugo Grotius, I dare not *indiscriminatim* condemn those or that part of the people which do use this defence having respect unto the public good: for David had many armed men about him, that he might repel violence offered unto him; and at that time David was commended by a prudent woman, that he fought the Lord's battle, which words many do ill refer to David's former battles, whereas Abigail's speech is rather a correction of what Nabal said. Many subjects are now fallen from their king, which words that Abigail might correct, she saith the wars of David were godly, as being undertaken not out of defection from his prince, but for tuition and preservation of his own life. But because the Doctor seems to want some testimonies of the French Protestant divines, I will give him one for all, and surely he will not say the words are not spoken of such government, such states, such cases, or such times as ours are. This question being on foot in the time of Charles IX: what is to be done by the subject when he is violenced by the magistrate; or if

* Polanus in Dan. xi.

† Barcleus regii imperii assertor fortissimus, huc tamen descendit, ut populo, et insigni ejus parti jus concedat se tuendi adversum inmanem sævitiam. Cum tamen ipse fateatur totum populum regi subditum esse; ego indiscriminatim damnare aut singulos, aut partem populi minorem, quæ ultimo necessitatis præsidio, sic utatur ut interim et communis boni respectum non deserat. Vix ausim nam David armato, circum se aliquanto habuit; quo nisi ad vim arcendam, si inferetur. Et hoc ipso tempore Davidi prudente fæmina dicitur bella Dei, *i. e.* pia gerere; quod male multi ad sola bella priora trahunt, quum potius emendatio sit ejus quod Nabal dixerat, multos subditos a rege suo deficere, quod ut corrigat Abigal bella Davidis pia esse dicit, ut pote non defectionis, sed solo vitæ tuendæ consilio suscepta.—Hugo Grotius de Jure Belli et Pacis, l. i. c. 4.

the chief magistrate degenerate into a tyrant, may the subjects resist by force of arms ?*

That was answered by one learned man, for, and in the defence of the protestants in those times, thus,† Subjects are of three sorts, either mere private men, bearing no public office, or else they are in some inferior and subordinate place of magistracy; or else they are such as are so inferior to the chief magistrate that by the laws of the land are appointed to bridle the chief: as for private men, saith the author, it is evil for them to resist with force of arms, either they must fly or suffer: as for the second sort they not being the king's household servants, but rather to be called officers of the crown, depending not so much on the king as kingdom, the king abusing his power to the overthrow of laws; these inferior magistrates ought to oppose, for the conservation of those who are committed unto their trust; and if need be to take up arms till things be otherwise provided for by the estates of the kingdom. As for the third sort, saith he, though they in some respect are under the chief magistrate, yet in some respect they are keepers of the supreme dignity, that the chief magistrate may be kept in his office; these may, if need require, repress and chastise him, for the people is not made for the magistrate, but the magistrate for the people; his power taking its rise from them.

* Quid agendum est subjecto cum a magistratu violatur; vel si summi magistratus in tyrannos degenerarent, et quid subjectis faciendum? necessarione illis ob temperandum an illis repugnandum, et quidam armorum vi adhibita.

† Respondeo, varia esse subjectorum discrimina, alii mere sunt privati homines nullum publicum munus gerentes; alii inferiorem et quasi subalternum magistratum gerant; alii ita sunt summo magistratu inferiores; it tamen ex patriæ institutis et legibus summi magistratus, moderandi causa tanquam fræna quedam constituantur, quod ad primum attinet certum est, nefas esse privato cuilibet privata authoritate vim tyranni vi opponere, sed vel tyranni vis subeunda, et tolleranda est aut cedandum, et alio migrandum. Quod ad secundum subjectorum genus attinet eorum qui subalternos magistratus gerunt; non regis quidem familiæ domestici, sed regni potius ministri; quos officiarios coronæ vulgo nonnupant; ita statuendum est, illos non tama regi quem a regno pendere, illi regi manifeste tyranno, et ad lege, evertendas sua potentia abutenti oponere se, dabent ex jure jurando prestito; obligati ad eorum salutem, et conservationem qui suæ fidei commissa sunt; armis si opus est etiam adhibitis, donet a regnito dinibus aliter provisum sit. De tertio autem subjectorum genere, illud constituendum est quamvis illi revera; et certa quadam ratione summum magistratus imperio submittuntur; alia tamen ratione dum urgit necessitas supremi illius pignitatis vindices, et custodes constituuntur, ut supremum magistratum in suo officio continent; imo ut et illum cum necesse fuerit reprimant, atque castigent.

But though this were the first rise of magistracy, yet after the people have chosen their magistrate, they have resigned up their power to him.

But the people never created or received their kings, but upon certain conditions, which being manifestly broken and not kept, those have power to abdicate, who have power to create; and this has always been in use amongst all the most famous nations in the world, the Israelites, Lacedemonians, Romans, Danes, Swedes, Scotch, Polonians and English.*

But if a magistrate do degenerate into a tyrant, as we are not to be obedient to him, so neither are we to resist him.

That is only understood of private men.

But David spared Saul though it were in his power to cut him off.

That is no way contrary to the doctrine delivered, for David had many armed men about him whose help, if need had required, he would without doubt have used against all, yet thus he did, having respect rather to his own defence, than his enemies' offence.† This testimony tells us what hath been the practice of all nations: the testimony of the Scots in their answer to Lysimachus Nicanour, saith expressly, That our doctrine is according to the judgment of all the reformed churches. And if these testimonies will not yet prevail with the Doctor, I must leave him to his resolves. He tells us that our homilies are against us, but let him pro-

* Si quis excipiat ut prima illa fuerit magistratuum, origo verum tamen esse populos omnem suam libertatem in sol dum iis resignasse quos summos magistratus sibi preficerent cædo vero resignationis illius ullam probationem, qum statuo populus quantum quidem valuit jus et equitas, nec creasse, nec recipisse reges nisi certis conditionibus, quibus a magistratu manifeste violatis consequitur eum jus illorum abdicandorum habre, qui habuerat creandorum. Id dest populum summos magistratus legitimo imperio abutentes; abdicare imperio posse. Et id quidem apud omnes rationes celebriores usurpatum fuisse perspicuum est, Romanos, Athenienses, Israelitos, Danos, Swedos, Scotos, et Anglos.

Secundo excipatur regibus si in tyrannos degenerarent; non esse scelerum quidem præbendum ministerium, illis tamen vim minime opponendam; de privatis concedo; de inferioribus vero magistratibus minime. Ad superiores vero regum quasi Ephoros de tyrannis coercendis curam maxime eorum pertinere contendo.

† Deinde affertur exemplum Davidis qui Sauli tyranno tam studiosa pepereit, quamvis illius interficiendi facultatem haberet illud exemplum superiori doctrinæ minime repugnare alio; David enim militarem hominum turmam coegerat, quorum opera si ita postulassit necessitas, haud dubie adversus Saulem usus fuisse. Ita tamen egit defensionis potius quam offensionis causa.—Commentariorum 4 Partis de Statu Relig. et Reipub. in Regno Gallie, sub Carol. nono Reg., lib. x. fol. 120—126, in 8vo.

duce any place out of the homilies where it is said that the two houses may not take up arms to bring armed delinquents to their trial. Indeed the homilies speak against subjects taking up of arms against their king, so do not the parliament, but to defend themselves, and to bring delinquents to trial. And therefore when the Doctor or others bring forth testimonies of divines, ancient or late, to prove that subjects may not take up arms against their prince, they had as good say nothing; that is not to our case; but let them prove by testimonies, that it is not lawful for the parliament to take up arms to secure the kingdom, to bring accused persons to trial, and to deliver the prince out of the hands of malignants, and then they say something to us, else it is but clamour, not reason.

At last the Doctor speaks somewhat of arbitrary government (page 46), which is no way any answer to the reasons that were given by me, proving that his opinion raised the king to an arbitrary government, only he sets down his further sentence about arbitrariness, *eadem facilitate rejicitur qua affirmatur:* the rest of that section is either spent in naked assertions, or jeering expressions, or seeming answers to his other answerers.

CHAPTER IV.

The Doctor having spent some time upon his other answerers, at page 49, he is pleased to return to me, where he would prove that the people of Israel did not by any forcible resistance rescue Jonathan out of the hands of Saul, which work, says he, was but set off with a soldier-like boldness. Let the Doctor call this work what he please, Saul the king had sworn that Jonathan should die, and the people swore he should not die; and they being in arms did rescue Jonathan, saith the text. This rescue the Doctor calls in his first book, a loving violence; and in his reply, a setting off the matter with a soldierly boldness. I hope the Doctor will give us leave to use the like terms. If a prince swear the death of some parliamentary-man, who deserves not to die but to be preferred, and the people rise up in arms and rescue

their Jonathans, saying, As we live they shall not die that have wrought this great deliverance for us; this is no resistance, it is but a loving violence, and a setting off the matter with a soldierly boldness. Why may we not call this so, as well as the Doctor that? But I appeal to all reason whether a rescue by men in arms, from those that have sworn a man's death, be not forcible resistance?

But, say we, this is more than prayers and tears, which is the only remedy allowed by the Doctor, to which he replieth, The Doctor hath nowhere said, though Mr. Bridge makes him often say so, that prayers and tears is the only remedy left for subjects; but besides their cries to God, he allows them intercessions, reproofs, denial of subsidies and aids.

I will not search into the Doctor's book for every word, but take what he granteth here: yet this soldierly boldness of rescuing is more than prayers, tears, reproofs, or denials of subsidies and aids, which is all the remedy that he affordeth, as he confesseth now. Yet the Doctor is so full of this sentence still, that in page 51 of this book, he saith, That the children of Israel being under the oppression of their kings, had no remedy but crying to the Lord. And again, in the same page, saith, All the remedy they had, was by crying to the Lord. So, also, in his first book, page 10, the people are let to understand, 1 Sam. viii. 18, how they should be oppressed under kings, and have no remedy left them but crying to the Lord. Thus do men forget themselves, and what they have said, whilst they contend against truth.

Then the Doctor comes down to the example of David. And whereas it is urged by us, that David did take up arms to defend himself from the violence of his prince, Saul; the Doctor replies now as before, that David's example was extraordinary. Well, but when it is said, that David having advantage of Saul, did not lay hands upon him to cut him off as he might have done; what if we should say, that act of David's was extraordinary, would not the Doctor tell us, that our answer was but ordinary? He tells us, page 31 of his Reply, that conquest is one of the means by which God translates kingdoms, and that David being provoked by the king of Ammon, brought the people under. 2 Sam. xii. And that the Edomites were so brought under the dominion of Judah. What, if we should give this answer, that these were

extraordinary cases; would not the Doctor take it for a poor shifting answer from us? When we say any practice is extraordinary, we must also prove by circumstance, that there was an extraordinariness in the fact, or else acquiesce in it for our example. But be it so, that David's example was extraordinary, is not our case now extraordinary? Is England's case ordinary? Hath it been thus ordinarily, that arms have been taken up against the parliament, and delinquents kept from legal trial by force of arms: has this been for many years? See how the Doctor helps himself by this extraordinary answer. He tells us in his first book, page 8, that this work of David was a mere defence, without all violence offered to Saul; and is not this ordinarily lawful for subjects to do so much? The Doctor grants it himself, page 9 of his first book: That personal defence is lawful against sudden and illegal assaults of the prince himself, thus far, to ward his blows, to hold his hands, &c., and the like. But the Doctor in his Reply has thought of a new reason to prove David's example extraordinary: because else may private and single men do so too.

I answer, Not so, David was not as every private man; he was anointed of the Lord, one that fought the Lord's battles, the great statesman in the kingdom; with whom were joined Jonathan, and many other chief of the tribes: therefore it follows not from David to every private man, but to the parliament rather, who though not anointed as king, and as Saul, yet with some anointment from the Lord into the place of magistracy, especially being, as the Doctor confesseth, coordinate with the king in supremacy, so far as concerns nomothetics.

I said before, if David's example were extraordinary, then he had an extraordinary command for what he did; if so, how doth the Doctor say, there is no command or warrant in Scripture for such a practice or kind of resistance?

To which the Doctor replieth: As if all extraordinary warrants and instincts, given to special persons, should be written in Scripture.

I answer, So then this work of David's, which before was called by the Doctor a mere defence, is now come to be a matter of special instinct; though acts done by special instinct, had not always warrant from written Scripture before they were done:

yet being done and recorded in Scripture, there is ground and written warrant for the lawfulness of our actions upon the like occasions. I did not say, why then doth the Doctor say, there was no warrant in Scripture for David; but why then doth the Doctor say, there is no warrant or ground out of Scripture now for us to do what we do? Though it might be instinct then, and without written Scripture, yet it may be written warrant now.

Then, whereas that scripture is urged, though not to take up arms against our king, as the Doctor suggests, 1 Chron. xii. 19, where it is said expressly, that David went out to battle against Saul, the Doctor replies: Desperate shifts that these men are put to, when pretences and simulations must be Scripture ground for conscience. It is said before, David made shew of madness before king Achish: Mr. Bridge might as well infer therefore he was mad.

I answer, Will any else besides this Doctor make such an inference? The Scripture saith, *totidem verbis*, that he went out to battle against Saul; that this was but a simulation is not said in Scripture, but the Scripture doth not say that David was mad, but that he feigned himself so: is there then the same reason of the one and the other?

The example of Uzziah is next to be cleared. We find that the priests are commended for valiant men, because they thrust out king Uzziah from before the Lord, 2 Chron. xxvi. To which instance the Doctor saith, that Uzziah the king was stricken with leprosy, and by the law the leper was to be put out of the congregation, and dwell apart, which is not consistent with government; therefore it is said of the king, he was a leper, and dwelt in a several house, and Jotham his son reigned in his stead. 2 Kings xv. 5.

I shall ever give the Doctor the full weight of his reason. It seems by this answer, that he would have conscience believe, that the king was discharged from his crown by his leprosy, and *ipso facto* thereby dethroned. Now see what Dr. Bilson saith,* directly contrary unto this Doctor: Uzziah, saith he, dwelt apart in a house from others, because of his leprosy; but you do not find that he was deprived of his kingdom. Jotham his son governed his house, and judged the people of the land, because the king might not be con-

* Dr. Bilson on the Difference between Subjection and Rebellion, page 326.

versant amongst men, by reason of his sickness; but the crown still continued in the father though a leper, and Jotham began not his reign until his father was dead: whom the Scripture calleth the king of Judah, in the twentieth year of his reign, and the last year of his life. 2 Kings xv. 5, 7. Thus Dr. Bilson; and though our Doctor can, with what conscience I know not, join these words together, 2 Chron. xxvi., thus: He was a leper, and dwelt in a several house, and Jotham his son reigned in his stead, 2 Kings xv. 5; as if all these words were one, and did touch one another in holy writ, yet in truth they are part of two several verses, and two other verses come in between them. As in ver. 5 it is said, "The king dwelt in a several house, and Jotham the king's son was over the king's house, judging the people of the land;" not reigning in his stead, as the Doctor reads it. Then at ver. 6, 7, the Scripture having spoken further of the king, his deeds and death, at the end of ver. 7 it is added, "And Jotham his son reigned in his stead;" these words being annexed to his death as a consequent thereof: and the Doctor takes them and annexes them to ver. 5, at the mentioning of his leprosy, as if upon his leprosy his son reigned, whereas it is plain he only governed and not reigned, until his father died. Here I cannot but wonder, that the Doctor should so boldly venture to lay violent hands upon Scripture, that he may lead men's consciences into his own sentence: but I hope the consciences of those that fear God, will take notice of such dealing as this, and abhor that sentence, that must be born up with such practices. He would persuade us also, that the priests here are said to be valiant men, because of their home reproof which they gave to the king, or because of their withdrawing from him the holy things, which he was not to meddle with. But let him shew us any one place of Scripture, where valour being joined with an expression of force, as here it is, it being said that they thrust him out, doth only note faithfulness in one's place, by giving reproof or the like.

At last the Doctor comes to his own arguments, and labours to recruit them: and first he tells us, that none might blow the trumpet for war amongst the people of Israel, but the supreme magistrates; and therefore the parliament may not take up arms or blow the trumpet for war, as now they

do. To this argument divers answers, unanswered, have been given, yet he is not satisfied, but still replieth. And I wonder that he should, considering there is no such matter, that I can find, as he allegeth, in Numb. x. It is true the Lord speaks there unto Moses, saying, ver. 5, "When ye sound an alarm;" and ver. 6, "When you blow an alarm the second time;" and ver. 7, "When the congregation is to be gathered together, ye shall blow:" and ver. 9, "If ye go to war in your land, ye shall blow an alarm with your trumpets." But these words in the Hebrew are all in the plural number, shewing that the blowing of the trumpet belonged as well to the state and princes of whom he spake, ver. 4. It is not said that Moses should use those trumpets, exclusively, he and not they, but rather he joined with them.

Again, he comes for his defence to that place of Samuel, 1 Sam. viii. 18, where, saith he, it appears that the people had no remedy against their unjust kings, but their crying to the Lord. Mr. Bridge answers, saith he, Samuel tells them not what should be their duty, but what their punishment, "The Lord will not hear you," &c. It was indeed, saith the Doctor, their punishment, because all the remedy they had, which was by crying to the Lord, should not help them; which had not been such a punishment, if they had had means to help themselves by power of arms.

Here the Doctor saith, that all the remedy this people had was by crying to the Lord, which scripture he brings against our resistance, to prove what is our duty, and how far it extends: yet on page 49 of his Reply, he will not own such a speech as this, saying: The Doctor has nowhere said, that prayers and tears are all the subjects' remedy.

Again, it appears plainly that this scripture, 1 Sam. viii., is not spoken of the king's right, what he might do, but of his fact, what he would do; for the king had no such right over his subjects, as to take their children's fields and vineyards from them, for which Ahab was so severely punished. Yet saith this text of Samuel, "He shall take your daughters, fields and vineyards," &c. Neither can it be objected, that the word used in the Hebrew is משפט, which signifies, *judicium*, judgment or right seeing; it also signifies, *consuetudo*, order or manner, as it is well translated in the English, ver. 9.

Again, though it be said, ver. 18, "Then shall ye cry out in that day, because of your king which ye shall have chosen, and the Lord will not hear you in that day;" yet it doth not follow that they had no other remedy but crying to the Lord. That is said in Scripture, that the people being oppressed with foreign enemies, should cry unto the Lord in their distress, and because of their sins the Lord threatens not to hear them, but bids them go to their idols, and let them help them if they can; doth it therefore follow, that they might not defend themselves against foreign enemies? no such matter. Whereas the Doctor saith in this Reply: It was no such judgment to cry and not be heard, if yet they had a power to defend themselves by taking up arms. This answer is very strange from one that calls himself a divine: for suppose that God should say to his people, that had a power to take up arms against their foreign enemies, that they should notwithstanding their power cry unto him, and he would not hear them, nor deliver them from their oppressors; was this no such judgment, because they might take up arms? Alas, what will all our taking up of arms do either way, if God will not hear our cries and prayers!

The Doctor for his own defence and the defence of his cause, said in his first book: That if such a defence as we now use were lawful, it is a marvellous thing that so many prophets, reprehending the kings of Israel and Judah for idolatry, cruelty and oppression, none should call upon the elders of the people for this resistance, page 10.

To this I answered, See the prophet Elisha expressly calling on the elders to imprison the king's messenger, 2 Kings vi. 32. The Doctor after he comes to himself out of a railing and jeering fit, replies: What did Elisha call upon those elders for? to imprison the messenger? that is more than the text will bear, unless to shut the door against a man be to imprison him.

I answer, But the prophet Elisha not only called upon them to shut the door, but to hold him fast. 2 Kings vi. 32. Shutting the door indeed doth not note imprisonment, but, shut the door and hold him fast doth: for what is imprisonment, but *arcta et violenta custodia*, and these are the words of that text, "Shut too the door, and hold him fast at the door." But it is the Doctor's manner to take part of the

text, and leave the other part which makes against him; so he dealeth by our answers, so he dealeth by scriptures. At length the Doctor having left me to visit my fellow answerers, as he calls us, for the space of three or four leaves, he is pleased to return again to me about Rom. xiii., and page 60. He takes it unkindly that I will not stand to the English translation of the word κριμα, damnation, but rather translate it so, "They that resist shall receive to themselves judgment."

To which I say, that I do not deny but grant, that the word may be translated damnation; but seeing the word firstly signifies judgment, as Piscator observes, I would not have the Doctor so peremptory scaring people with the word damnation, when as more naturally the word may be rendered otherwise. I told him before what Piscator's reason is for the translating of it, judgment. He may read what Musculus also said,* and in him what many other divines, who speaks thus: It is doubtful what judgment the apostle speaks of here, whether the judgment wherewithal the disobedient are punished by God himself, or that which is to be expected from the magistrates; the latter way those things that follow do favour, the former way those things that are precedent: but it matters not which way we understand it, neither doth any thing hinder but that we may expound it to both, when as both judgments, both of God and magistrate, are to be feared by those that are unruly. But the Doctor gives, as he thinks, a good reason why it must needs be translated damnation, and so meant, because resistance there forbidden, is a breach of the fifth commandment, which deserveth damnation.

I answer, What then we read, Rev. ii., that the church of Thyatira had broken the second commandment in her idolatry and superstition, yet she is threatened with an outward punishment. Wisd. xxii. 23. "Behold (saith Christ) I will cast her into great tribulation, and kill her children with death."

* Ambiguum est autem quod de jud'cio insert, an de eo quo divinitus olim punientur inobedientes loquatur, vel de eo quod expectandum est a magistratibus; in posteriori sententiæ videntur sequentia favere, priori vero præcedentia. Verum nihil refert utrum intelligamus, nec quicquam prohibet quo minus de utroque exponamus, cum utrumque sit timendum immorigeris.—Musculus in Rom. xiii.

Yea, the fifth commandment is strengthened with an outward promise, "Honour thy father and thy mother, that thy days may be long in the land;" and therefore well may the breach hereof be threatened with an outward judgment.

Again, saith the Doctor, Mr. Bridge answers, that only active obedience to lawful commands is there enjoined, but passive under unlawful commands. To which the Doctor answereth, Both say we. But not so Origen,* not so Jerome, not so Chrysostom, and divers others; and Pareus' his reason is good, who observes,† that according to the apostle, the denying of obedience is all one with resistance, forbidden in this Rom. xiii.: for in one verse the apostle saith, submit or "be subject unto the higher powers;" in the next verse he gives the reason, "For he that resisteth," &c.: so that resisting, and not subjecting or obeying, is all one. It is no sin not to obey unlawful commandments; but the apostle makes it a sin here to resist, and therefore the resistance forbidden doth not relate to unlawful commandments, but if lawful. But then the Doctor tells us, that if these words should be understood only of active obedience to lawful commands, and not of passive to unlawful commands; the apostle had given the Romans but a lame instruction, page 60. And his reason for that speech follows at a distance, page 61: Because then the Romans should not have been sufficiently instructed how to answer the unlawful commandments of princes, as also, there would have been a gap open to rebellion, for, saith he, how easy would be the inference: therefore we may resist when they command unlawfully.

I answer, This is a strange work to charge the apostle with lame instructions, in case that a passive obedience should not be here commanded; God doth not command every thing in every scripture, yet those scriptures wherein he commandeth something and not all, are not lame instructions. The first commandment commands the substance of worship, the second the right means, the third the manner, and the fourth the due time of worship; yet the first is not lame because it

* Itaque qui resistit non hic, &c. de illis potestatibus dicit quæ prosecutores fuerint fidei, ibi enim dicendum est, Deo oportet obtemperare magis quam hominibus. Sed de istis communitatibus dicit quæ non sunt terrori boni operis, sed mali, quibus utique qui resistit, &c.—Origen in Rom. xiii.

† Negate vero obedientiam est resistere.—Pareus in Rom. xiii.

doth not command what the second, nor the second lame because it doth not command what the third, nor the third lame because it doth not command what the fourth; so here, though God should command only active, not passive obedience in this text, this instruction would not be lame. But why should it be a lame instruction? The Doctor tells us, Because the Romans should not be sufficiently directed how to answer the unlawful commandments of princes: yes, surely, if God did here command them obedience to lawfuls, he should at once forbid them disobedience to unlawfuls; but, saith the Doctor, Then there will be a gap for rebellion, for how easily would men infer, therefore we may resist in things unlawful. I answer, The Doctor takes this for granted, which is to be proved, that all forcible resistance is rebellion. Suppose that true which himself granteth, in page 1 of the first book, that it is lawful to resist unlawful commands, though not with forcible resistance. And if so, then why might not the Romans as well say, This instruction you give us is lame, for you forbid resistance, and yet in some kind resistance is lawful, a suffering resistance lawful, and a forcible resistance unlawful. And yet you have not in this xiiith chapter given us any such distinction, so are we left in the dark, and your instruction lame. But, good Doctor, let us take off our own haltings, whilst we go about to charge the apostle with lame instructions, in case he come not just up to our opinions. But to put an end to this matter concerning this text, I appeal to the Doctor, whether he doth not think that these words, "higher powers," verse 1, did not include the Roman senate: I say, when the apostle commands, "Let every soul be subject to the higher powers," did he not command the christian Romans to be subject to the Roman senate? We know that after this epistle was written to the Romans, as Eusebius reports, the Roman senate was not only in being, but so potent and powerful, that when that was propounded to the senate, whether Christ should be acknowledged as God, that was in the senate's power to grant or refuse, and they refused. So Estius also saith,* that the governors of provinces were appointed by the senate, as well as by Cæsar, when Peter wrote his epistle. So that still, notwithstanding Cæsar, the Roman

* Præsides provinciis præficiebantur non tam authoritate Cæsaris quam senatus.—Estius Ep. Pet. i. 2.

Senate was a high power, and the higher powers unto the people; and if they were the higher powers, who were to be obeyed by this commandment of the apostles, then why doth the Doctor bring this scripture to urge our higher powers and senate to obey, especially when the Doctor himself confesses (page 62) that the two houses, as distinct from the king, fall under the words, "higher powers?" At last, in page 62, the Doctor comes to that place of Peter, 1 Epist. ii. 13, "Submit yourselves to every ordinance of man for the Lord's sake, whether to the king as supreme, or unto governors, as those that are sent by him." Where, after the Doctor hath a little stroked himself on the head, and laboured to spit some filth on our faces, he comes to that testimony of Calvin, for that which he says concerning Dr. Bilson is not much material, who proves that the pronoun *him* relates to God, and not to the king, for the reason which I alleged in my first book; now the Doctor replies, True, all are sent by God, but it is as true that the governors of the provinces were sent by the king, or the Roman emperor.

The reader may observe how the Doctor doth deal by the scripture again, for he sets down the words thus: To the king as supreme, or the governors as those that are sent by him: and thus indeed the word *him* must needs relate to the king, but conceals that part of the verse wherein the word *God* is expressed thus: "Submit yourself to every ordinance of God:" for the Doctor knew that if he had set down that part of the verse, the reader would have perceived that the pronoun *him* should have related to God, and not to the king. Then, again, observe what he answers: he tells us, that the governors of provinces were sent by the king or emperor; that is not the question now, but whom the pronoun *him* doth relate, whether God or the king. And for this he gives no reason, nor answers Calvin's, and therefore I need add no more; yet Estius' reasons are very full, proving that the pronoun *him* must relate to God and not the king: for says he,* The apostle Peter would move the people to obey the king

* In eo quod additur, tanquam ab eo missis pronomen eo ad regem referunt nonnulli, quod non placet, nam apostolus vult hoc in præsidibus istis considerari quod Deus eos miserat, id quod ad obediendum movere debet, ac ut taceam quod præsides provinciis præficiebant non tam authoritate Cæsaris quam senatus, illi alteri relationi non quodrat quod sequitur ad vindictam malefactorem, &c. quem

and governors, which argument is full, because they were sent by God; whereas if the pronoun *him* should relate to the king, here were no motive. Again, Because the apostle Peter saith that they are sent by him for the punishment of evil doers, and the praise of them that do well, for which cause the wicked heathenish governors did not send the governors, it being known that they sent them for the punishment of those that were good, and for the praise of those that were evil; and therefore the pronoun *him* is to be carried on God, and to have relation to God, not to the king, in this place; and therefore what the Doctor brings from this place to set the parliament at a greater *under* than God would have, is nothing worth. The rest of the chapter is spent with his other adversaries. I having thus delivered the scriptures from his objections, shall be the more brief in answer to the after part of his discourse, because the only ground of conscience is God's word.

CHAPTER V.

IN Section X. of the Doctor's reply, I find little to hold us long; I had told him in my former book, that the parliamentary proceedings were an act of self-preservation, and used the similitude of a steersman, shewing that in case he do not his duty, even the very passengers in time of a storm, for their own preservation may look to the matter, which doth not imply the unofficing of a steersman; so in state, where the chief magistrate neglecteth his duty, &c. The Doctor replies (page 64), that the prince is not as the steersman, but as he that stands above, and commands to the starboard or larboard.

This is to hang upon the word, and let go the sense, for the reason holds to him that stands above, and commands, as well as the steersman, neither will common reason say, that

scopum mali reges non usque quaque habebant propositum, rectius igitur ad Deum refertur, qui hunc finem omnibus magistratibus præscribit, unde et Paulus de potestate Rom. xiii. Dei enim minister est tibi in bonum, &c. ex quo apparet missos a Deo hic intelligi debere non solum duces sed regem ipsum.—Estius in 1 Epist. Pet. ii.

he is unofficed, because the passengers for the present desire or cause him to stand by, that they may look unto their own safety in the time of a storm.

Then he comes to prove that authority and magistracy, abstractively considered from the qualification or several forms of government, is of divine institution; wherein we do all agree, only I excepted against some of his *media*, that he used to prove it thus: By those words, the powers that are ordained of God, the Doctor understands, the power itself of magistracy, distinguished from the qualification thereof, and the designation of persons thereto; how then did he say, (Sect. II.) the "higher power" in Paul, is the same with the "king as supreme" in Peter? The Doctor replies, The power of magistracy, abstractively taken, may by these words be proved to be of God, though the "higher powers" here be understood concretively with connotation of the persons that bear the power, for they are here proposed as objects of our obedience which cannot be directed but upon power in some person. And here it is said, as αι ουσαι, existent, &c.

But how doth this prove either what the Doctor would, or answer me? It is true the words, higher powers, note both, as I have shewed already, both the authority and persons in the authority. But then the word, τεταγμεναι, I say, signifies, ordered, and so to be translated, not, ordained; for otherwise if the words, higher powers, note both the abstract and concrete, and this word be translated, ordained, then this scripture shall as well prove the qualification and designation to be of God, as authority itself: which thing the Doctor denies, and first brought this scripture to prove that magistracy is of God, in opposition to qualifications and designations. Some metaphysical notions about *esse* and *existere* the Doctor would find out in the word, ουσαι, but I pass them as never intended by the apostle.

At last the Doctor promiseth, or rather threatens to give me a visit, for so he saith, page 65, I must come home to Master Bridge, to make him understand the force of my inference. I had said thus: In like manner the Doctor proves that power itself is of God, because the magistrate is called the minister of God: slipping from the power itself to the person designed, for the power itself is not called the minister of God. Whereupon the Doctor saith, I must come home

to Master Bridge; the mayor of N. is the king's minister, therefore his power is from the king; will Master Bridge reply, No, for the power itself is not the mayor, or called the minister of the king?

Thus whilst he comes home to me, he comes from his own home and reason, forgetting what he had said before (pages 60, 61), A lawful prince, though commanding unlawfully, is still the minister of God. So then it seems one may be the minister of God in that which is evil: and it is true a penal minister one may be; a man may sin in afflicting another, and yet he may be the minister of God to him that is afflicted; how, therefore, doth this argue, that because the magistrate is called the minister of God, that his authority is lawful? And therefore, whereas the Doctor saith the mayor of N. is the king's minister, therefore his power is from the king; will Master Bridge say, No? I answer, He will say, there is not the same reason in regard of God and the king, for a man cannot be the king's minister in a bad action, but he must receive power from him, but he may be God's minister, I mean penally, in an unlawful action, which God never gave him right or power to do.

In the after lines of this page the Doctor says, that both the Fuller Answer, and Master Bridge's, every where takes it for granted by me, that monarchy, aristocracy and democracy are equally the inventions of men? I answer, I do indeed, and the truth of it may appear from your own words (pages 13, 14 of your first book) as I have shewed already.

Lastly, saith the Doctor, Master Bridge concludes that my proving of the governing power to be of God, but the qualification of it, and designation of the person to be of man, gaineth nothing against resistance, or deposing a prince that doth not discharge his trust; for still the people may say, We may alter the government, and depose the person, because he was of our designing. Doctor Fearne says, Nothing so, for if they resist, they usurp authority, and invade the power that God hath given him; if they depose him, they quite take away that power which God and not they placed in him, because he is still the minister of God.

This seems to prove that people cannot depose their prince, or alter the government that is set up amongst them; but what is this to the reason that he pretends an answer to?

to which was thus: If the Doctor grant that the qualification of the power is from man, and the designation of the person, then though the power itself be confessed of God by the Doctor, yet his adversaries that are for the deposing of princes, if any such be, may as well plead a power to depose the person or alter the government, as well I say, as if the power itself was appointed, or set up by men. Now the qualification and power of designation is granted by him to be of man: and therefore he helps himself nothing by proving that authority, or magistracy in the abstract is of God. To take away this, he proves, that the people cannot depose their prince, or alter the government; I will not say a wild, but surely a wide answer as ever came from a D. D. The other part of this section is against others, who are sufficiently able to plead their own cause against this Doctor.

In Sect. ii. page 64, the Doctor complains that we have left the king nothing we could take from him; and this kind of speech is ordinary amongst some, who are so bold as to affirm, that because we do not make ourselves slaves, we make our sovereign no king. Let him and them read what Almain saith.* A polity, saith he, is not therefore said to be regal because there is one above all that is greater than all the community, but because there is one above the rest, who hath jurisdiction over every particular man in that community; neither were it fit that there should be one such who were so superior, unless he were indeviable as Christ who is able to rule the community according to his own will, then the polity should be perfectly regal. And Forteseue saith, *Posse male agire potestatem potius minirit quam augmentat:* we do not say that God is less powerful because he cannot sin; nothing is more regal than to keep one's will within the bounds of good laws. It is some misery not to do all which you would, it is more misery to will what you may not; it is

* Non ideo dicitur politia aliqua regalis, quia unicus ei præsit qui sit tota communitate in jurisdictione major, nec ei quovis modo subjectus, sed solum propter hanc causam, quia unicus pre est qui in quemblibet alterum de communitate jurisdictionem habet et est eo superior. Nec conveniens foret aliquem unum talem taliter communitati prefiti, qui esset ea tota in omni casu superior, nisi talis foret indeviabilis, quem admodum de Christo confiretur, qui communitatem erige e potest sua voluntate, non secundum legem tunc ista politia esset perfecta regalis. —Sen. Almain de pot. stat. laica ad Gerson. cap. 1.

most misery to have a power to do what you see will.* But if you do not, saith the Doctor, re-assume power from the prince, what means the difference you make of things disposed of by trust, from things disposed of by donation, because they may be recalled, these may not, so you say, page 25.

I said not so, but that there is a difference between things disposed of by way of donation or sale, and things disposed of by way of trust: things disposed of by way of sale or donation are not in our power to recal, things disposed of by way of trust, are in our power to look to when the trust is neglected: I would this Doctor would but do us the favour as to allege our words rightly.

Pages 67, 68, of his book, are spent in proving assertions of the same things that he had said before, only page 67, he confesseth it is likely that kings were at first by election, which acknowledgment we receive: but how doth this agree with what he had said before, Sect. iii. page 8, 9, where he had said, that election was a defection from that government that God set up at the first; in page 69, he cometh to the matter of the king's covenant and oath, which, saith the Doctor, is no condition on which the kings of this land are admitted to the crown, but a confirmation and strengthening of their mutual duties by oaths and promises, as it was with the kings of Israel.

The nature of this oath we must leave unto the parliament and lawyers, who better know than we how it is taken, and on what terms, only thus much I read in Speed's Chronicle, That the Kentish men would not admit William the Conqueror to the crown, but upon condition as I have shewed before; and if the taking of the oath were only for confirmation, carrying no condition with it, why should it be taken at the first coming unto the crown, and not rather afterwards?

What else remains in that section is so easy, that the dimmest eye that hath conscience in it, may see through, for who knows not, that it is a greater evil, for a committee to be wronged by a particular person, than for a particular person to be wronged by a committee. *Bonum quo communius eo melius, malum quo communius eo perjus.* And why doth not nature

* Miserum est non facere omnia quæ velis miseries vero velle quod non licet miserrimum posse facere quod ita velis.—Jun. Brut.

teach, that a prince who is married unto his people, is to be faithful to them, as well as that the husband is to be faithful unto his wife, and therefore that conditions are implied, though not expressed between the king and his subject, as well as between a man and his wife; and so I pass from that section to the Doctor's two last.

CHAPTER VI.

WHEREAS the Doctor had said, We sharpen many of our weapons at the Philistines' forge; and I had shewed the difference between us and papists in this cause: he replieth, Difference there must needs be between you and papists in this particular, for they challenge such a power from the pope, you from the people.

Very well, and is not here a vast difference? The papists say, the pope may depose princes; we say, in case that the prince doth not perform his trust, the people may look to their own safety.

Dr. Fearne says: But we see your party making use of those examples, which the papists bring for deposing of kings, as of Saul, Uzziah, and Athaliah.

The papists bring these examples of Uzziah, Athaliah, &c. to shew that the high priests did, and so the pope now may, depose princes, proving that the pope is above princes. We say with Chrysostom and others, that every soul, even priests, as they and you call them, are to be subject to higher powers: that that lies in the power of no priest to depose princes.

Is this to whet our scythe at the Philistines' forge, to use the same scripture for one purpose, which the Philistines do for another? The papists use that scripture, *Tibi dabo claves*, "Thou art Peter, and on this rock I will build my church," to prove the pope's supremacy; the reformed churches use the same scripture, to prove that the power of the keys is *penes ecclesiam*, given to the whole church, and not unto a Peter only: do all the reformed churches, therefore, whet their weapons at the Philistines' forge, or are they therefore

popish, because they use the same scripture to other purposes? so here.

But you will give the prince leave, saith the Doctor, to change his religion, so will the papists, if all his subjects may have free liberty for their religion.

Not so, but he turning heretic, as the papists phrase it, is to be excommunicated, and so deposed. Dr. Fearne says: But in case he endeavour to force the contrary religion upon his subjects, for that must be supposed, how then will your allegiance hold?

Very well, and yet not whet our scythes at the Philistines' forge, for they say, that a prince apostatizing is to be excommunicated, and so deposed, as you shall presently see: we say that princes are not to be deposed for altering their religion; yea, though they should be excommunicated, for the crown is not entailed upon religion.

They deprive princes, we only defend ourselves.

They deprive by the pope's authority, we defend ourselves by the highest civil authority of the land.

Again, whereas I said the papists hold it lawful to kill a prince, and that a private man invested with the pope's authority may do it; we abhor it. The Doctor replieth: That is their new forge under ground, set up of late by jesuits: I did not mean you sharpened your weapons there, but at the old forge; and however you say you abhor this doctrine of killing kings, yet I fear and tremble, to think if your sovereign had fallen in battle by the edge of your sword, or shot of your artillery, you would have found him guilty of his own death, in that he would not, being desired, forbear to go down himself into battle.

It is well the Doctor will excuse us from jesuitism in this particular, and well he may in all things else, especially here, where he knows there is so much correspondency between his own opinion and the jesuits, who, for the most part of them, hold, that as all ecclesiastical power is given to Peter, and so to the pope and bishops, not to the church; so, that all civil power is given immediately to the king, and not to the commonwealth, but only as derived from him: and therefore well may the Doctor excuse us from whetting our swords at the new forge of the jesuits, that being a forge which he reserves to whet his own weapons at.

Neither do we whet our weapons at the old forge, for I suppose the Doctor will say, that Aquinas' forge is of the oldest frame, and he speaketh directly contrary to us, thus:* As soon as ever any is denounced excommunicate for apostacy from the faith, his subjects are *ipso facto* absolved from his dominion, and the oath of allegiance, whereby they were bound to him.

We say, if a shot of our artillery had fallen on the king, whereas you say we would have found him guilty of his own death; we say, we would have found you, and such as you are, guilty thereof, that put him on such designs. As if a man make a fire to preserve himself and his family, and another comes and thrusts a third man into it, we will not fault him that made the fire to preserve his family, but him that thrust the man into it. But in this matter, Doctor, you have answered yourself, for you told us in your former treatise, that it is lawful for subjects to ward their prince's blows, to hold his hands, and the like, page 9. Now if the prince raise an army against his subjects, how can his blows be warded, but by an army? and if his army discharge their ordnance and muskets upon his subjects, how can his subjects ward them blows, but by discharging likewise? And then answer yourself, What if a shot of artillery should fall upon your prince? But, saith the Doctor, if you back again will gather strength for your assertions from the papists' reasons, be as like as you will to one another, &c.

I answer, Who are most like to the papists, you or we? I refer you to all that knows us. See the Canterburian self-conviction. And if we may not gather strength of reason from popish authors to dispute against them, why do either you or we read them? Reason is good, wherever we find it. Neither would Abraham refuse the use of the well, because Abimelech's men had used it; no more will we refuse good reason, because the papists have used it: they using it rather from us, and not we from them. And yet in this matter, as I have shewed, we do differ much from them.

But you prove a power in the body politic, saith the Doc-

* Et ideo quam rito aliquis per sententiam denunciatur excommunicatus propter apostaciam a fide, ipso facto ejus subditi absoluti sunt a domnio ejus et juramento fidelitaris qua ei tenebantur.—Thomas Aquinas, 2, 2, § 12, art. 2.

tor, to disburthen itself, as the church hath, of evil members, as papists do.

I answer, But not as the papists; for we only press a necessity of power in the body, to defend and save itself from the injury of princes: they plead for a power in the church, and who that church is you know, to depose princes. But then, saith the Doctor, hath this church a power of excommunication still; so it should be indeed, but since the act which took away the high commission; and, as the party you plead for would have it interpreted, all ecclesiastical censure too, where doth the exercise of that power rest, upon whom now is the argument turned? page 73.

I answer, Surely upon yourself, for there is no church of Christ, but whilst it remains a church, hath a power left in it, though the exercise may be long suspended, to see to itself and its own preservation. I say a power from Christ to excommunicate, though it should be denied from men. And it seems a strange thing to me, that the churches of England have no power left, because the high commission is down, as if that court were set up by Christ himself. The body natural hath power to disburthen itself, saith the Doctor, so hath the commonwealth too; but will you have the natural body disburthen itself of the head, or work without it?

Neither do we go about to cut off our head, but say in the general, if the head should be distempered, through ill vapours that arise from inferior parts, so that it cannot discharge its office, it is lawful for those that are in place, to give physic to the body, that even the very head itself may be the more healthful.

And whereas I had shewn, that there is not the same reason, that the people should re-assume their trust in case the parliament be negligent; as there is, that in case a prince neglect his trust, the parliament and people should see to it: the Doctor replies, But if by ordinances thence issuing, they be spoiled of their property and liberty, which is supposed in the case, they will quickly feel it so.

This is but an insinuation of a gross scandal, no reason. Only the Doctor argues, page 75, Will not the people as easily conclude, they may free themselves from the trust given to those parliament men, chosen by them, as renounce, according to your lessons, their trust given to their prince?

In all reason they will hold their representatives more accountable to them than their prince can be.

This is a scandalous charge, to say that we lesson men to renounce their trust given to their prince, whereas we only say, the people have a power to defend themselves, and when cause requires, to excite and actuate that power, which was always residing in them, and never given from them. Again, how can the people as easily renounce the trust given to the parliament, when the people themselves conclude and say, that what is done by the parliament is law; which they do not say as concerning the prince, but rather know that for law he is directed by them. But, saith the Doctor, this is to make them arbitrary, and to lead the people after them by an implicit faith.

The Doctor is much against the implicit faith of the people, both in this and his former book. It were well that men of his strain had been so much against implicit faith in the matters of the church, where it is more dangerous, where they were not, witness the &c., as now they are against the implicit faith in the commonwealth, where it is of less danger. Again, why will this make the parliament arbitrary, or cast the people into an implicit faith? It is granted by all, that the king and both houses may enact laws, whereby the people are to be ruled, believing that those laws are best for the commonwealth; doth this make the government of king and parliament arbitrary, or raise the people to an implicit faith? no more doth it here. An arbitrary government is where a king may rule *pro arbitrio*, as a father in his family; which power the Doctor doth give unto the king by his paternal right, Sect. III.; and so indeed there is room for an implicit faith, for that children have most of all an implicit faith in that which their fathers say. Finally Master B. endeavours to shew, saith Dr. Fearne, how they can answer the oath of supremacy, and the protestation, by taking of arms; but who knows not, saith the Doctor, if that party of Brownists and Anabaptists, which are now so prevalent in the arms taken up against the king, should get the upper hand, what would become of the king's supremacy and government?

Here is a loud cry against Brownists and Anabaptists, but who are Brownists? Not all those that are against prelates, and not for the English Common Prayer Book, for then all

the reformed churches are Brownists. And as for Anabaptists, I wish it may be considered, whether they do not take some footing for their opinion from the Common Prayer Book? They deny baptism to infants upon this ground, because actual faith and repentance is pre-required to baptism: and doth not the Common Prayer Book seem to acknowledge as much, when as before baptism, the witnesses in name of the infant must answer to these questions: Dost thou believe? dost thou renounce the devil and all his works? I must nakedly profess my judgment against that opinion, yet were it not good, that the very Common Prayer Book should come under consideration upon this and other reasons.

If men were so much for protestant religion, and against papists, as is here pretended, they would never be more afraid of Brownists and Anabaptists, than of papists, seeing they are of the protestant religion, and differ not from us in fundamentals, as the papists do.

Suppose that that army should prevail, wherein there are Brownists and Anabaptists, as you say; yet is there not so much danger that they should prevail to mislead the parliament, who are three or four hundred, as that papists should prevail to mislead one.

Though there should be Anabaptists and Brownists in the army, yet they do not fight against the king's supremacy and his government as the papists do against the protestant religion and being of parliaments, whose powder treason is famous, or rather infamous to all generations.

At last the Doctor tells us, concerning supremacy, that the king is supreme, not so much in opposition to particular persons, as in relation to the whole body politic of which he is head.

We say the king is supreme and head of the kingdom severally and jointly considered. Dr. Fearne, indeed, tells us, that the two houses of parliament are in a sort co-ordinate with his majesty, to some act or exercise of the supreme power, that is, to making laws, by yielding their consent. And if they be co-ordinate in that act of supremacy, Pareus and others will tell him that the nomothetick part of supremacy is the highest. We acknowledge the king our supreme

to defend us; but not to defend ourselves where cause requires, gives a supra-supremacy unto him.*

What else remains in this section, is either matter of words and bare denial to what hath been said or answered to his other answerers.

In the next section (page 49), the Doctor saith, Mr. Bridge enters upon a loose discourse against episcopal government, I refer him, for his better instruction, to a book entitled, Episcopacy Asserted.

I answer, No other loose discourse than what his loose treatise led me into; and for the Doctor's better instruction, I refer him to Mr. Bayne's Dioecesan, Mr. Parker's Ecclesiastical Polity, or, Altare Damascenum. And whereas I said, Now the Doctor shews himself, he had rather the kingdom should be imbrued in a bloody war, than episcopacy should down; because he had said in his treatise (page 25), That the king has reason, by power of arms, to divert the abolishing of episcopal government.

The Doctor answers, Nay, Mr. Bridge, you and your party in arms shew yourselves what spirit you are of, who will have this land embroiled in a bloody war, rather than episcopacy shall not down.

Not so, Doctor, there is not the same reason why you should retort these words upon us, for I had nowhere said, the parliament hath reason by power of arms to divert the evil of that government; yea I am so far from it, that I profess freely that if the king and parliament would establish that government still to be continued, that the people is not bound to rise up in arms to root it out, though I judge it evil. Yea, if any man is of that opinion, I think he is to be suffered to live enjoying himself and his estate here.

Then (page 56) the Doctor saith to that of Saul's spear restored: Mr. Bridge replies, Though restored before demanded, yet not before Saul had humbled himself to David,

* Dr. Fearne's Reply, page 6.

Potestas politica seu civilis dupliciter consideratur; vel ut architecto nica, quæ occupat in legibus ferendis ad quodvis bonum reipub. pro novendum; et vocatur νομοθετικη ut architectonicæ subordinata, quæ remp. secundum leges illas deliberando, judicando, et exequendo, administrat et vocatur simpliciter πολιτικε seu civilis, lib. vi. Ethic. c. 6. Per se vero patet quod architectonica νομοθετικη sit superior civili simpliciter dicta, et omnibus aliis potestatibus subordinatis quod que sit potestas suprema.—Pareus in Rom. xiii.

saying, I have sinned, &c. We know, says he, what you look for; his majesty hath not been ashamed to do it with great condescension.

I answer, It is possible a king may fail for not humbling himself before his subjects. 2 Chron. xxxvi. 12, "And Zedekiah did that which was evil in the sight of the Lord his God, and humbled not himself before Jeremiah the prophet."

And though his majesty had yielded and humbled himself yet lower, he would be no loser thereby: we know what the old counsellors said, 2 Chron. x. 7, "If thou be kind to this people, and please them, and speak good words to them, they will be thy servants for ever."

Finally, Whereas I had shewed that Ziba, and those that resorted to David in his distress, were not of another religion, and by law to be disarmed, as the papists now are, who have entertainment in his majesty's army; the Doctor answers, Though by law papists are not to have arms at their disposal, yet are they not quit of the duty and service of subjects.

They owe no more duty to the king, but according to law, and by law, they are to be all disarmed. Wherefore, good Doctor, maintain this illegal way no longer, give glory to God, and say you are convinced of this truth, which indeed you cannot but be, if you do not shut your own eyes; for you told us in your former treatise, that subjects may lawfully, for their own defence, hold the king's hands; and how so, if he raise an army, but by an army. Neither can you be so weak as to think that the great senate of the kingdom, that all the commons, gentlemen and nobles, should be so at the mercy of every mean person, invested with the king's authority, that if a petty constable, or other inferior officer do offer violence unto them, that it shall not be in their power to make a forcible resistance, because they are clothed with the king's authority. Good Sir, in the fear of God make your humble addresses to his majesty, and petition him to return to those that are faithful to him. The worst that he can lose, you know, if you pretend rightly, is but a piece of prerogative, or some exercise thereof for the present. Why should so good a land as this be imbrued in blood for such a cause, war being the worst of all evils, and therefore not to be undertaken but to prevent *gravissimum malum*. And is the loss

of some part of the prerogative, or exercise thereof for the present such? I believe you cannot say so. Wherefore labour, labour you to take off those exasperations that are amongst men with you, and do not still put your *unguem in ulcere ut recrudescat dolor*. Tell the people amongst whom you are, of that sinful way wherein they now are, so shall you *liberare animam tuam*. But if you will not, it may be those words which you read in Ezek. iii. 12, will lie hard on your conscience another day. Now the God of all peace give us peace, but truth with peace in Christ Jesus. Amen.

THE LOYAL CONVERT

According to the Oxford copy.

A CONVERT WILL BE LOYAL.

OR

SOME SHORT ANNOTATIONS ON THIS BOOK.

A. D. 1644.

Improbus hæc tam culta novalia miles habebit?
Barbarus has segetes?

VIRGIL.

Ουκ αγαθον πολυκοιρανιη, εις κοιρανος εστω,
εις βασιλους.

HOMER.

Quæris uter melius, rex ne imperet anne senatus
Neuter (quod sæpe est) si sit uterque malus.
Sin sit uterque bonus, numero præstare senatum;
Inque bonis multis plus reor esse boni.
Difficile est numerum, forsan reperire bonorum,
Sic facile est unam sæpius esse malum.
Et fuerit medius sæpe inter utrumque senatus,
Sed tibi vix unquam rex mediocris erit.
Consilioque malus regitur meliore senator,
Rex consultores sed regit ipse suos:
Alter ut eligitur populo; sic nascitur alter
Sors hic cæca regit, certum ibi consilium.

Reader, if thou wouldst read any more such poetry as this, see Thom. Morus Anglus, where there is much to this purpose.

TO THE HONEST-HEARTED READER.

"READER.—I HERE protest * before the Searcher of all hearts, that I have "no end, either of faction or relation in this ensuing treatise. I am no papist,† "no sectary,‡ but a true lover of reformation and peace: my pen declines all "bitterness of spirit,‖ all deceitfulness of heart; and I may safely, in this par- "ticular, with St. Paul say, 'I speak the truth in Christ, and lie not, my con- "science bearing me witness in the Holy Ghost, that I neither walk nor write in "craftiness, nor handle the Holy Scriptures deceitfully:' therefore if thy cause "be Jesus Christ,§ in the name of Jesus Christ I abjure thee to lay aside all "wilful ignorance, all prejudice, all private respects and interests, and all uncha- "ritable censures: deal faithfully with thy soul, and suffer wholesome admoni- "tions: search the several scriptures herein contained, and where they open a "gate, climb not thou over a stile; consult with reason herein exercised, and "where it finds a mouth, find thou an ear: and let truth prosper, though thou "perish; and let God be glorified, although in thy confusion."

* When you have taken the protestation to shew yourself any thing for the Searcher of hearts, then I shall be persuaded to give you some credit, and shall desire the honest-hearted reader to think he hath to do with such a writer; but such gentlemen as you seem to me to be, can take a solemn national covenant and spit it up again, and without conscience fall into that desperate jesuited maxim, That no promise is to be held with such, whom you can soon call, heretics, or schismatics, or any thing. The Searcher of hearts hath a controversy with covenant breakers. I would you did read such places as Jer. xxxiv. 18, 20, and would learn to apply them better than you have done any scripture than I can see in this treatise, and yet I desire to see without prejudice.

† You do not know what you are, nor indeed doth any carnal man; he that doth not stand only for the one thing, Luke x. 42, may and indeed, at some time or other, will fall into an any thing: better men than you have confessed, that they did never think a man had need to be converted, till they themselves were converted. But you are even the same that thousands of your stamp are, that is to say, sore service-hook men, and (the worst of men) moderate men, falsely so called, lukewarmness, neutrality, and ignorant pride with obstinacy, see the wisdom of God concluding them inseparable, Rev. iii. 15, 16, 17.

‡ Your sectary, we know what it is, namely, any one that is truly religious, a reformation and a religion at large is the thing such as you love, that is to say, Sundays no Sabbaths; and the book of liberty put into practice again, wakes, church-ales, rushbearings, &c. Oh, it was a merry world in those days: upon which terms I must say of your peace, as once the father said, *Ubi non hoc bellum ibi pax diabolica;* Where there is not this strife (namely, between the better and worse part) there is a devilish peace. With this introduction, commonly, these men begin such pamphlets, and they think they prevail much upon the reader's affection: I say to the honest-hearted reader, Look about thee, *in nomine Domini incipit omne malum:* Satan can transform himself into an angel of light,

and so do his ministers also; if thou espiest this protestation before, the sound of his master's heels are behind him: and he is a stone cold formalist, some Christmas zealot, as full of obstinacy as an egg is of meat, one that will tell you he would he resolved, but he is resolved aforehand: of such an one let Solomon give the true character: Prov. xxvi. 16, "The sluggard is wiser in his own conceit than seven men that can render a reason."

‖ That we shall leave to the judicious reader, if there he not exceeding much of both bitterness and deceit too, *judicent impartiales*, good reader, have thine eyes about thee, and see without prejudice.

§ Our cause is the cause of Jesus Christ, as hath been clearly and plentifully proved, nor ever yet gainsaid, but by sophisms, lies and quarrellings. And that defensive war the parliament hath now a foot, hath heen sufficiently vindicated, as is to see in the several treatises to that purpose, if we had to do with reasonable men; wherein, good reader, thou hast the question rightly stated without any *andabatism*, which this gentleman hath not either so much wit or so much honesty to do: we desire him, therefore, to take the good counsel that he gives, and in the name of Jesus Christ, laying aside all wilful ignorance, pride, prejudice, private interests, and uncharitable censures, to deal seriously, and not so deceitfully with a truth of God. Reader, he knows our question is not what he here says it to he, for all his specious presence. We will, therefore, in these Annotations, Christ willing, search his several scriptures, and where they open, God and thou be judge, reader, we will not seek to shut: we desire to consult not only with reason, but with religion too, which, in the power of it, such men are sadly ignorant of; and then to his last clause: Let truth prosper, though we perish; and God he glorified, though in our confusion: we say, Amen, and so be it.

"THE kingdom of England, that hath for many ages "continued the happiest nation on the habitable earth, enjoy- "ing the highest blessings that heaven can give, or earth "receive; the fruition of the gospel, which settled a firm "peace; which peace occasioned a full plenty, under the "gracious government of wise and famous princes, over a "thriving and well-contented people, insomuch that she "became the earth's paradise, and the world's wonder, is "now the nursery of all sects; her peace is violated, her "plenty wasting, her government distempered, her people "discontented, and unnaturally embroiled in her own blood, "not knowing the way, nor affecting the means of peace; "insomuch, that she is now become the by-word of the "earth, and the scorn of nations."

If you speak for yourself, Sir, you are no good subject; if for us, you are no good christian. All our practices of mercy have shewed, and all our prayers for mercy to God and man too, do shew this to be most false: we do affect the means, all the lawful means of peace, but our misery is, that when we speak to men thereof, they make them ready to battle. The language of this proem is neat, but very jesuitical and dangerous. Take heed, good reader, we live in the times now, that even the jesuits begin to plead for the taking of the oaths of supremacy and allegiance. See the Safeguard from Shipwreck for a Prudent Catholic, with Dr. Featley's annotations thereupon, published by order. Sure our church is either altered, or the pope's stomach, that he can now digest us; but here it is, reader, give thine observation, when there is hope that kings will preserve popery, then popery itself will swear to preserve them.

"The cause and ground of these our national combustions, "are these: our national transgressions, which unnaturally "sprung from the neglect of that truth we once had, and "from the abuse of that peace we now want: which, taking

" occasion of some differences betwixt his majesty and his " two houses of parliament, hath divided our kingdom within " itself, which had so divided itself from that God, who blest " it with so firm a truth, so settled a peace, and so sweet an " unity.

" As that sin brought this division, so this division, sharp- " ened with mutual jealousies, brought in the sword.

" When the lion roars, who trembles not? And when " judgments thunder, who is not troubled?

" Among the rest, I, who brought some faggots to this " combustion, stood astonished and amazed, to whom the " mischief was far more manifest than the remedy; at last I " laid my hand upon my heart, and concluded, it was the " hand of God: where being plundered in my understanding, " I began to make a scrutiny, where the first breach was " made that let in all these miseries.

" I found the whole kingdom now contracted into a par- " liament, which consisted of three estates, a king, a house " of peers, and a house of commons; by the wisdom and " unity whereof, all things conducible to the weale-public " were to be advised upon, presented and established.

" I found this unity disjointed, and grown to variance even " to blood. The king and his adherents on the one party; " and his two houses and their adherents on the other.

" The pretence of this division, was the true protestant " religion, which both protested to maintain; the liberty of " the subject, which both protested to preserve; the privi- " leges of parliament, which both promise to protect: yet, " nevertheless, the first never more profaned, the second " never more interrupted, the third never more violated."

Sure this gentleman thinks that any thing will be granted him. I am confident, and in this I dare appeal to God and all good men, that England never saw her religion and ordinances in that glory of lustre, as they have been since this parliament began; such a spirit of prayer and preaching is gone out amongst us, as is indeed wonderful. But that which you call religion's profanation, is indeed and truth religion's purging and reformation; namely, to pluck down idolatrous crosses, to silence organs, to abolish relics of popery, to scum off the filth of our liturgies and church service, and to put away out of our cathedrals, those bawling

boys, and drunken singing men. This is the profanation of religion we are guilty of, in such men's opinions as this is. True it is, in these sad times of our's, and exceeding full of destraction, sectaries creep in and increase abundantly, whose suppressing, in their and the Lord's due time, we do not doubt but the great Reformer will bless us with. This you can remember, and object against our side; but your open masses on your side, I hear no complaint of; not a word of your Irish rebels now, *cum privilegio*, in the land here. Accidental profanations, in such times as this, will happen; it cannot otherwise be; but voluntary and desperate ones, volent and violent profanations your side is guilty of; you authorise, defend, fight for, or at least with, professed profaners, yea, professed enemies of religion; yea, all religion which hath any power or piety joined thereunto. This writer, which, in this strain of wit, desires to strike through the sides of our parliament and profession too at one blow, dares not here undertake to instance any one piece of the profanation of our religion, justifiedly published, preached or practised in this distracted strait of time, by the authority of parliament; religion, liberty, privilege, and all is trodden under foot by that side, to which this gentleman is now a loyal convert, as is seen daily; but what impudence dare aver that we do any such thing? Good reader, do not be beguiled, but hear what this man saith, religion, liberty, privilege, never more profaned, interrupted, violated; but by whom? Let him speak out and tell thee, or do thou open thine eyes, and tell thyself, rather, and then thou wilt tell me, that the gentleman hath in this, but thrown dirt in his own side's face.

" Standing amazed at this riddle, I turned mine eyes upon " his majesty, and there I viewed the Lord's anointed, sworn " to maintain the established laws of this kingdom: I " turned mine eyes upon the two houses, and in them I " beheld the interest of my country, sworn to obey his ma- " jesty, as their supreme governor.

" I heard a remonstrance cried from the two houses: I " read it; I approved it; I inclined unto it: a declaration " from his majesty; I read it; I applauded it; I adhered to " the justness of it: the parliament's answer; I turned to

" the parliament: his majesty's reply; I returned to his ma-
" jesty.

" Thus tost and turned as a weathercock to my own weak-
" ness, I resolved it impossible to serve two masters.

" I fled to reason; reason could not satisfy me: I fled to
" policy; policy could not resolve me: at length, finding no
" counsellor, but that which first I should have sought, I
" hied me to the book of God as the great oracle, and
" ushering my inquest with prayer and humiliation, I opened
" the sacred leaves, which, not by chance, presented to my
" first eye the xxth of the Proverbs, verse 2. 'The fear of a
" king is as the roaring of a lion, and whoso provoketh him
" to anger, sinneth against his own soul.'

" Now I began to search, and found as many places to
" that purpose as would swell this sheet into a volume; so
" that in a very short space, I was so furnished with such
" strict precepts, backed with such strong examples, that my
" judgment was enlightened, and my wavering conscience so
" throughly convinced, that by the grace of that power which
" directed me, neither fear, nor any by-respects shall ever
" hereafter remove me, unless some clearer light direct me."

And was there ever any pestilent heresy in God's church that had not numerous quotations of Holy Scripture? Augustine observes it sweetly, that heresies and perverse opinions, ensnaring the souls, they are not vented but when the good Scriptures are not well understood, and then that which men understand wrongly, they assert to others as rashly; See Aug. Tract. in Jo. x. It may be this gentleman would be ready to do to me as he did to Jeremiah, or as that other Zedekiah did to Micaiah, for he smote him on the cheek and said, When went the Spirit of the Lord from me to speak to thee? 1 Kings xxii. 24. For indeed some men think that none are in the favor of God so as they, and that God hath given to none his graces in that measure that they, though Christ knows they never knew what belonged to any saving grace or knowledge; but Sir, I must needs tell you, you have made Augustine's words true. And such as you verify that of the apostle, 1 Tim. i. 7. they would be Doctors of the law, and yet understand not, what they speak, neither whereof they affirm.

" But, above all the rest, a precept and an example out of

" the Old Testament, strongly confirmed by a precept and an " example out of the New, settled my opinion and established " my resolution.

" The first precept out of the Old, Jer. xxvii. 6. where it " pleased God to own Nebuchadnezzar his servant, although " a known pagan, a professed idolator, and a fierce persecutor " of all God's children, concerning whom he saith, verse 8, " ' They that serve not the king of Babylon, and that will not " put their necks under his yoke, I will punish them with " the sword, famine, and the pestilence, till I have consumed " them, verse 9. Therefore hearken not to your diviners and " prophets, that say unto you, You shall not serve the king of " Babylon, for they prophesy a lie unto you, verse 10, But " the nations that shall serve the king of Babylon, and bring " their necks under his yoke, those will I let remain in their " own land, (saith the Lord) and they shall till it, and dwell " therein.' "

I could not have thought that a royalist, and one of so tender a conscience, as this gentleman would seem to be, would have quoted a text of the Holy Scripture with such perverting. And so strangely derogatory to that which he seems to be so earnest for. For good reader, do but mark well: It pleaseth God to own, saith he, Nebuchadnezzar for his servant; we grant it, but to do what? amongst other things, To conquer that which is none of his. To be a scourge to the people of God. To destroy others a while, till at length others destroy him. Thus God may, and doth own the devil for his servant for such services as these. Sir, you will have small thanks at court for such parallels and comparisons as these, we hope and pray yet, that God hath appointed our gracious sovereign to preserve our right and yours, to be a nursing father to God's people, to help to save them, which I will assure you, Sir, will venture their dearest bloods to save him: you do exceeding ill, Sir, and I must tell you, it is an unreverent and unbeseeming comparison. But let us see what this scripture contains. That to God belongeth the kingdom, rule and government of the whole world. He doth give the rule thereof even to the beast of the field, to whomsoever pleaseth him. That he hath less reason than a beast, which doth not submit to accept the punishment of his iniquity, Levit. xxvi. 41., and to seek a

place of hiding there, where God will secure him. For two great reasons are given hereof, Secret from the purpose of God and his decree, I have given, &c. v. 6. From the sin of man which God doth intend hereby to scourge for a time, for so the Lord tells them plainly, verse 7. And therefore whosoever shall dare to strive or resist, must now know it is no less than a disobedience and God-resistance. Therefore: our land, oh, ye Jews, heretofore yours, while ye were mine, and governed by your own king, I have now given away unto a strange king, even the king of Babylon, and the government shall be his over you all, yea, and what yours is to the beast of the field. Now your wisdom will be to submit to me and him; yea, to me in him that you may shew your passive obedience, if otherwise two mischiefs will ensue against you, namely: severe punishments, sword, famine, &c. and that until they be wholly given into his hands. Hereupon a double exhortation is given. Do not hear, expressed; much less believe, implied, those that say, ye shall not serve the king of Babel, and a binding reason, verse 10. For they prophesy a lie, &c. Lastly, the direction and promise, verse 11. But now what doth this text conclude. Hath God given away our land and king to a foreigner? Who sent you to preach this doctrine? They are commanded by God to this which is not our case. Thus you argue, the people of Israel must not refuse the means of their safety how unlikely soever; therefore the people of England must not refuse the means of their slavery how unlawful soever. It is very well argued, Sir, indeed. But, honest reader, mark a little and see what the gentleman would conclude hence. Our king is as that king of Babel, whom God had appointed to do what he will. Our parliament, the people that will not obey, therefore designed to fire, sword, &c. All the holy learned of the land are dreamers, enchanters, sorcerers, and men that prophecy a lie unto you. Therefore, countrymen, put your necks under the yoke of the king, and you shall remain still in your land, occupy and dwell therein; yes, marry, shall you and wear wooden shoes, as the peasants do in France: reader, I appeal to thy soul, is not here pestilent perverting God's truth? Do not such men torment and set on the rack (στρεβλησιν) God's truth, 1 Pet. iii. 16. This is the first precept with which this good man was so satisfied.

" Can there be a stricter precept? or could there be a " more impious prince? And yet this precept, and yet this " prince must be obeyed: nay *sub pœna* too; upon the pain " of God's high wrath, fully expressed in famine, sword and " pestilence, not only upon the people, but upon the priests " also, that shall persuade them unto disobedience.

" The second precept is enjoined us out of the New Tes- " tament, Rom. xiii. 1. 'Let every soul be subject " to the higher powers, for there is no power but of God; " the powers that be are ordained of God: whosoever there- " fore resisteth the power, resisteth the ordinance of God, " and they that resist shall receive to themselves damnation.' " This power, this king, to whom St. Paul commandeth this " subjection, was Nero, the bloody persecutor of all that " honoured the blessed name of Jesus Christ."

The second precept is the old place, Rom. xiii. 1, 2, 3, &c. To this I answer, that this gentleman sure doth suppose that he can say more than Dr. Fearne, or else he would never press it so far; but I will not dare to suppose that I can say more than they, which have given him answer. Let the reader apply himself unto Master Burroughs in the end of the treatise, intitled, The Lord of Hosts: and others labouring excellently upon that subject. Only thus much give me leave to advertise: the gentleman doth first hoodwink you, and then abuse you; God's command, his reason, and that under, thereat, they are altogether, yea and every one by himself, that which we desire to tremble to think of disobedience to: for they are such a threefold cord as cannot be broken, but we break with them. Equality with our sovereign, superiority, or supremacy over him, let this book object against them that are guilty of desiring such a thing. We utterly disclaim and renounce the thought thereof; and therefore herein the author fights with his shadow, and not with us. His distinction of active and passive obedience, power, praise, pliance, prayers, &c. Suppose all this should be admitted, yet the author hits not the question, alas, he comes not near the mark. Indeed no more they do any of them by their good will. The parallel too between the two scriptures, that is to say, between Rom. xiii. 1, 2, 3, and 1 Cor. xi. 29; with that flash of wit discerning the Lord's body, and discerning the Lord's anointed, that he says of ordinance, and the punishment of disobedience, &c., allow him

all this, and all this is beside the business in hand, and hath nothing in it but froth. How easily and with no noise falls all this Babel to pieces thus: He that rebels against God's commandment, shall receive to himself judgment, true, but we do not so; therefore &c. He that desires to be equal with, or above his king, he, &c. But we abhor it with our hearts; therefore &c., and so of all the rest. This spider's web is soon swept down you see; much reading I know by myself is a wearisomeness to the flesh; and though there be many books, yet every one hath not time to read them; observe therefore, good reader, without prejudice, these following things in answer to this precept; obedience to the king may be denied, not only in things unlawful by the law of God, but man also; this is granted by the king's side, this position, That God's law, and man's law do limit king's power. Resistance is lawful with these three cautions. If there be the consent of the two houses of parliament. If that resistance be defensive. If the king be bent to overthrow all religion, laws, liberties, &c., and shew nothing but will: for you know, Sir, and for shame do not dissemble it, that Aristotle's old rule is, He that governs by law is a king; by lust, is a tyrant. The next book therefore that this gentleman writes, we shall intreat him to satisfy the reader in those particulars above, and such as these below, namely, what is the difference between εξουσια, power, and δυναμισ, strength, for surely this must be regarded. There is difference between these two, *he hath*, and *he is* the greatest power, let it be spoken of whom it will. The resistance of the power, and the resistance of the will, are things different. These concurrences in a governor, which all have granted: the power, which is from God; person, which is from men; qualification, which is from himself; limitation, which is from from the law divine and human. Let him also satisfy us in these two things more, that is to say, though duty, breach of oath and covenant, doth not make forfeiture of power, yet, whether any breach doth so. Whether power given to king, parliament, &c., may be re-assumed; when, how, in what cases, and by whom? The light of reason we have, hath taught us this, and we cannot forget it, that spiritual good things have such means to preserve them: which is a truth warranted by God's word. That natural and civil good things must surely have means to preserve

them also: such therefore would I entreat the next discourse of this gentleman's to be, as may give satisfaction in these things, or else he doth nothing to the purpose.

" God's command should he a sufficient argument, αὐτὸς ἔφη " is enough; but when he adds a reason to, he answers all " objections: but when he threatens a punishment, no less " than damnation, upon the resistance thereof, he hath used " all means to persuade a necessity of obedience.

" Let every soul be subject.

" Not equal, much less superior. And what is taking up " of arms, but an implied supposition of at least equality? " What are the hopes of conquest but an ambition of supe- " riority; what is condemning, judging, or deposing, but su- " premacy? For it is against the nature of an inferior to " condemn, judge, or depose a superior.

" And, lest the rebellious should confine his obedience to " a good prince, the next words reply,

" For there is no power but of God.

" Power in itself, is neither good nor evil, but as it is in " *subjecto* the person; if an evil king, an evil power: if a " good king, a good power: God sends the one in mercy, and " we must be subject: the other in judgment and we must be " subject: in things lawful, actively; in things unlawful, passive- " ly: if a good king, he must have our praise and our pliance; if " an evil king, he must have our prayers and our patience.

" 'He that resisteth the power,' whether good or evil, for " all power is of God, 'resists an ordinance of God.' Or- " dinances of men are not resisted without ruin, 'and who- " soever resisteth, shall receive,' but what? κρίμα ἑαυτοῖς, 'dam- " nation to themselves.'

" Now compare this place with that 1 Cor. xi. 29: 'He that " shall eat this bread, and drink this cup of the Lord unwor- " thily, eateth and drinketh,' what? κρίμα ἑαυτῷ, 'damna- " tion to himself.' If then there be proportion betwixt the " sin and the punishment, you may hereby gather the hein- " ousness of disobedience, the punishment whereof is the " very same with his, that is guilty of the 'body and blood " of our Lord;' to the one, 'for not discerning the Lord's " body,' to the other, 'for not discerning the Lord's an- " ointed.'

" Obj. The Lord's anointed; and who is he? None but the

" regenerate: Christ is not Christ to any, to whom Jesus is " not Jesus.

" Ans. God's word answers your silly objection, not I: was " not Saul, God's anointed, 1 Sam. xvi. 9. Was not Cyrus, " God's anointed, and many more whom God acknowledges " so and yet wicked kings?

" 'Cyrus is mine anointed yet he hath not known me.'

" The first example for our obedience the Old Testament " proposeth to our imitation, Dan. iii. 16. Nebuchadnezzar " the king of Babylon sets up a golden image, Shadrach, Me- " shach, and Abednego, were commanded to fall down and " worship it."

For the first example; truly I do but desire to appeal to judgment which is sound, and without prejudice, not idolizing the name of king, court, &c., as not long since we were commanded to do something else; and by those which now desire to preach us as deep into the blind obedience, as ever they did. I have, I thank God, three rules fitted to that threefold obedience, which have not yet failed me in the trust I have committed to them; I am informed that,

Blind obedience wanteth discretion.

Implicit obedience wanteth truth.

Seditious and servile obedience wants justice.

Reader, do but observe with what obedience they would have thee obey; and also take the good memorandum given thee by an ancient, and be not blindly obstinate, and I desire no more: Tertullian's censure of the people of his time, is thus; *Majore formidine, Cæsarem observatis, quam ipsum de Olympo Jovem:* which is in English thus in effect: I would to God some of you would learn to fear God a little, which pretend you fear, and love the king so much, and I could like it well. Michior Canus takes occasion to say of the Italians these words; *Vos Itali vultis Deum habere in pane, quem non eredisis esse in cœlis*: in English, You Italians will needs have God to be in the bread in the sacrament, which I am afraid you hardly believe to be in heaven. *Sic ille in vita Melanct.* But to the point; this first example, reader, I judge it, to this business, very incongruent and absurd; absurd I say; for do but observe, and the force of reasoning lies thus: three children captives do yield passive obedience to the lawful commands of a free monarch, in a strange land;

therefore all free men ought to yield passive obedience without resistance, to the mere will of a mixed monarch, (the parliament then sitting and dissenting thereto) in their own land. I shall pray the reader to observe well the agreement between this case and ours. It is not lawful in any case to resist, no, though the commands be altogether unlawful, a king that is to govern by will; therefore unlawful also to resist him, or his bad council, which is to govern by law. Thus the gentleman argues from the first of those examples which did so confirm him.

" The king, a known pagan, commands gross idolatry, did " these men conspire? Or, being rulers of the province of " Babel did they invite the Jews into a rebellion; did these, " to strengthen their own faction, blast their sovereign's name " with tyranny and paganism? Did they endeavour by scan- " dals and impious aspersions, to render him odious to his " people; did they encourage their provinces to take up arms " for the defence of their liberties or religion; did they seize " upon or stop his revenues, or annihilate his power: did " they estrange themselves from his presence, murder his " messengers, or would they have slighted his gracious offers? " No, being called by their prince, they came; and being " commanded to give actual obedience to his unlawful com- " mands, observe the modesty of their first answer, Dan. iii. " 19, ' We are not careful to answer thee in this matter;' and " being urged, mark their pious resolution in the second: " Dan. iii. 18: ' Be it known, O king, we will not serve " thy gods, nor worship the golden image which thou hast set " up.'

" The king threatens the furnace, they yield their bodies " to the furnace, and say, Dan. iii. 17, ' God whom we " serve will deliver us out of thy hands,' and not, He will " deliver thee into our hands. They expect deliverance " rather in their passive obedience, than in their actual resis- " tance.

" Obj. But they were few in number, and their forces not " considerable.

" Ans. Admit that, which all histories deny, was not God " as able to subdue him with so few, as to deliver them from " so many; had their weakness less reason, for the cause of " God's apparent dishonour, to expect a miraculous assis-

" tance in those days of frequent miracles, than we, after so " long a cessation of miracles? God's glory will not be " vindicated by unlawful means, or unwarrantable proceed- " ings.

" Obj. Aye, but we take up arms not against the king, but " against his evil counsellors.

" Ans. Adherents ye mean, a rare distinction, and, tell me, " whose power have his adherents? The king's; by which " appears, ye take up arms against the king's power, Eccles. " viii. ' He that resisteth the power (it is not said the " prince) shall receive damnation.' Again, ' Where the word " of a king is, there is power.' God joined the king and his " power, and who dare separate them? They that take up " arms against the parliament's power, you say, take up arms " against the parliament; do not they then that take up arms " against the king's power, by the same reason, take up arms " against the king? Now look back upon your intricate dis- " tinction, and blush.

" Obj. But if the king betray the trust reposed in him " by his subjects, they may suspend their obedience, and re- " sist him.

" Ans. Kings are God's vicegerents, and cannot be com- " pelled to give an account to any but to God, Psa. li. 4. " ' Against thee, against thee only have I sinned,' that is, To " thee, to thee only must I give an account. Though I have " sinned against Uriah, by my act, and against my people " by my example, yet against thee have I only sinned. You " cannot deprive, or limit them in what you never gave them. " God gave them their power, and who art thou that darest " resist it? Prov. viii. 15, ' By me kings reign.' "

You, and such as you, the king's flatterers; and it is a pity to see what daubing here is with untempered morter.

" Obj. But his crown was set upon his head by his sub- " jects, upon such and such conditions.

" Ans. Why was the penalty upon the fail not expressed " then? Coronation is but a human ceremony, and was he not " proclaimed before he was crowned? Proclaimed; but what? " A king. And did not you at the same instant, by relative " consequence, proclaim yourselves subjects? And shall sub- " jects condition with their king, or will kings bind themselves

" to their subjects, upon the forfeiture of their power, after " they have received their regal authority?"

He is bound by the law to the law, which is the common sponsor between him and the subject, viz. that the subject shall pay tribute, give obedience, &c., and then, that he shall enjoy his protection too, or else he is in an ill case.

" Obj. But the king hath, by writ, given his power to his " parliament, and therefore what they do, they do by virtue " of his power.

" Ans. The king by his writ, gives not away his power, but " communicates it: by the virtue of which writ they are " called *ad tractandum et consulendum de arduis regni*, to " treat and advise concerning the difficulties of the kingdom. " Here is all the power the writ gives them, and where they " exceed, they usurp the king's power, being both against " the law of God and the constitutions of the kingdom."

Yes, to enact something too, surely, Sir, you have forgot yourself: but if delinquents be found out, and rescued from the hand of justice, what then? nay, if they be armed against them which should do justice on them, what then?

" Obj. Well, but in case of necessity, when religion and " liberty lie at the stake, the constitutions of the kingdom, " for the preservation of the kingdom, may suffer a dispen- " sation.

" Ans. Admit that, but what necessity may dispense with " the violation of the law of God, the deviation wherefrom " is evil; and, thou shalt do no evil that good may come " thereon."

Here is no law of God broken yet, unless you shew us more.

" Obj. But we take not arms against the king, but only " to bring delinquents to condign punishment.

" Ans. And who are they? Even those that take up arms " for the king; which an unrepealed statute (2 Henry VII.) " acquits. But admit statutes may be broken, and you seek to " punish them; who gave you the power so to do? The law. " And what law denies the king's power to pardon delin- " quents? God that hath put power into the hand of ma- " jesty, hath likewise planted mercy in the heart of sovereignty. " And will ye take away both his birthright and his blessing " also? Take heed you do not slight that which one day may " be your sanctuary."

Our rejoicing is the testimony of our conscience, that we shall have mercy with the King of kings, which is our souls' sole sanctuary. In the mean time you reason well; the king may pardon some delinquents, therefore ought to pardon any, yea all. A king hath mercy for delinquents, therefore let him spare them, nay, arm them against those that endeavour to do their duties in ridding the commonwealth or church of them.

" Obj. But the king, being a mixed monarch, is bound to " his own laws.

" Ans. There be two sorts of laws, directive and coercive: " as to the first, he is only bound to make his account to " God; so to the second, he is only liable to the hand of " God: who shall say unto him, What doest thou?

" Obj. But kings now-a-days have not so absolute a power " as the kings mentioned in the Scripture.

" Ans. Who limited it, God or man? Man could not limit " the power, he never gave; if God, shew me where: till " then this objection is frivolous."

See, before confessed, that the king's power is limited by God's law and man's law too; where is the limitation if he may do what he will and must account to none but God? for in vain is he petitioned, or subsidy or aid denied him, for he may take all when he pleaseth, and is to account to none but God.

" Obj. But when kings and their assistance make an offen- " sive and a destructive war against their parliament, may they " not then take up defensive arms?

" Ans. It is no offensive war for a king to endeavour the " recovery of his surrepted right; however, are not the mem- " bers of a parliament subjects to their sovereign; if not, " who are they? If subjects, ought they not to be subject? " God's people, the Jews (Esther viii.), that were to be des- " troyed by the king's command, neither did nor durst make " a defensive war against his abused power, until they first " obtained the king's consent."

Prove a surrepted right and you say something.

" But admit it lawful, though neither granted nor warranted, " that subjects may upon such terms make a defensive war, " does it not quite cross the nature of a defensive war, to as- " sail, pursue, and dispossess?

" When you shot five pieces of ordinance before one was " returned at Edgehill, was that defensive? When you be- " sieged Reading, which you after slighted, was that defensive? " When you affronted Basing-house, was that defensive?

" The warrantable weapons against an angry king are ex- " hortation, dissuasion, wise reproof by such as are nearest " to him, petition, prayer, and flight: all other weapons will " at last wound them that use them.

" The second example was left us out of the New Testa- " ment, by him that is the true precedent of all holy obedi- " ence, our blessed Saviour; whose humility and sufferance " was set before us as a copy for all generations to practise " by. 1 Peter ii."

For the two examples of our blessed Saviour to it, I answer, that this example also I judge to be like the former, and very impertinent. My reason is, our blessed Lord had an aim only at the business which he came to do, viz. to do the work of his ministry, Isa. lxi. 1, 2, and in due time to suffer the death on the cross, upon which two of the parts of his office were dependent, viz. the prophetical and priestly office; for the other part, that is his kingly,

" The temporal kingdom of the Jews, successively usurped " by these two heathen princes, Augustus and Tiberius, two " contemporaries, was his natural birthright, descended from " his type and ancestor king David. Had not he as great an " interest in that crown as we have in this commonwealth? " Was not he as tender eyed towards his own natural people " as we to one another?

" Was not the truth as dear to him, who was the very truth, " and the way to it; as direct to him, that was the only way, " as to us?

" Was not he the great reformer?

" Had the sword been a necessary stickler in reformation, " how happened it that he mistook his weapon so? Instead " of a trumpet, he lifted up his voice.

" Were plots, policies, propositions, profanations, plunder- " ings, military preparations, his way to reformation? Were " they not his own words, 'He that taketh up the sword, " shall perish by the sword,' Matt. xxvi. 53. Nor was it " want of strength, that he reformed not in a martial way;

" Could not he command more than twelve legions of " angels?'

" Or had he pleased to use the arm of flesh, could not he " that raised the dead, raise a considerable army? Sure St. " John the Baptist would have ventured his head upon a " fairer quarrel, and St. Peter drawn his sword to a bloodier " end; no question but St. Paul, the twelve apostles and " disciples, would have proved as tough colonels, as your " associated Essex priests did captains: and doubtless St. " Peter, who converted three thousand in one day, would " have raised a strong army in six.

" Our blessed Saviour well knew, that Cæsar came not " thither without divine permission. In respect whereof, he " became obedient to the very shadow of a king; and whom " he actively resisted not, he passively obeyed.

" Obj. Aye, but there was a necessity of his obedience " and subjection, to make him capable of a shameful death.

" Ans. No, his obedience as well as death was voluntary, " which makes you guilty of a shameful argument."

Bona verba, quæso; you are peremptorily ignorant, Sir, and forfeit your discretion very often. The death of our Lord was voluntary, *quod depositionem*, it is true; himself saith so, " I lay down my life, no man takes it away," John x. 18. But yet necessary too, *quo ad decretum*, as I shall shew you out of your own scriptures, Matt. xxvi. 34; how then should the scriptures be fulfilled, which say that it must be so?

" Obj. But, he was a single person; we, a representative " body: what is inexpedient in the one, is lawful in the " other.

" Ans. Worse and worse: if our blessed Saviour be not re- " presentative, tell me whereof art thou a member? Woe be to " that body politic, which endeavours not to be conformed " according to the head mystical.

" He preached peace."

If always, you say something; but if ever otherwise, either by himself or his, your parallel is not worth a point. See Matt. x. 34, and be not rash.

" Your martial ministers, by what authority they best " know, proclaim war."

He preached obedience with limitation, Matt. xii. 21, Cæ-

sar's due, no more. You, like a company of flatterers as you are, preach it without limitation.

" He, obedience; they sedition."

Do not impudently tax us of preaching lies, shew any one so doing, and name him, otherwise you must needs father the lie. The gentleman you glance at, in the word *martial*, is quite beyond your aspersion, and until the court admire such Micaiahs, I am afraid the king's undertakings will be but like Ahab's journey to Ramoth Gilead, though four hundred such as you all say, " Go up and prosper."

" He, truth; they lies. He, order; they, confusion."

Order is a word of great latitude, Sir, and I believe you mean, order of bishops, order of cathedrals, order of church service, &c. Look about you, and you have been answered. No, know God is the God of order, and not of confusion.

" He, blessedness to the peace-makers; they, courage to " the persecutors. He, blessedness to the persecuted; they " brand them with malignity that call them blessed."

In your two last particulars you beg shamefully; you would have us think such as you mean to be peace-makers, who are indeed our only peace-breakers. You are such, and we have found you such on every treaty that we have had with you, like him that shed the blood of war in peace. We have found you as the men of Mesech and Kedar, degenerating indeed; which while we, and you too, talk of peace, make you ready to battle. Ps. cxx. 7. Again, you would have us think that imprisonment for malignity, and as incendiaries in a state, is persecution for righteousness. No, we know you suffer as evil-doers, are buffetted for your faults, and desire you to remember the old rule, *Non pœna sed causa martyrem facit;* it is not the punishment, but the cause which makes the martyr. Sir, it becomes them that bring such a railing accusation as this, so full of bitterness and gross falsehood, to draw it to particulars, and to say, This and this was done by such and such a person and persons. We who desire information, believe me, do think the blasphemies, lies, and brass-browed impudencies to be on your side.

" God was not heard in the whirlwind, but in the still " voice.

" But, his thoughts are not as our thoughts, neither are " our ways like his ways.

" But whence proceeds all this? even from a viperous " generation, which hath long nested in this unhappy island, " and those increased multitudes of simple souls, seduced by " their seeming sanctity, who taking advantage of our late " too great abuse of ceremonies, are turned desperate enemies " to all order and discipline, being out of charity with the " very Lord's prayer, because it comes within the popish " liturgy.

" How many of these have lately challenged the name of " sanctified vessels, for containing the poison of unnatural " sedition. How many of these have usurped the style of " well-affected, for disaffecting peace. How many of these " have counterfeited the honour of good patriots, for largely " contributing towards the ruin of their country. How " many does this army consist of. How for their sakes is " blasphemy connived at, sacrilege permitted. How for " their encouragement, are lies and brass-browed impuden- " cies invented, nay published, nay published in their very " pulpits, and tolerated, if not commanded, even by them, " who perchance, were this quarrel ended, would throw the " first stone at them. How many of our learned, religious, " and orthodox divines, who by their able tongues and pens, " have defended and maintained the true ancient and catholic " faith, and vindicated the reformed religion from the asper- " sions of her potent adversaries; are now plundered in their " goods, sequestered in their livings, imprisoned in their " persons, if not forced in their consciences; whilst their " wives and poor children, begging their bread, are left to the " mercy of these unmerciful times;—"

There shall be judgment merciless to him that sheweth no mercy. James ii. 13. I pray you open your eyes, and see the justice of the Lord of Hosts in this thing. Adonibezek shall rise up in judgment against you; his confession is, " As I have done, so God hath rewarded me," Judg. i. 7. So must you say too. Remember your ear-cutting, undoing, depriving, suspending, merciless high commission court, and then say, God is just. When a ship's lading of those that your party drave to New England, were sailing thither, Oh, says a creature of one of your courts, that a storm would

come now, and sink all these into the bottom of the sea! This is a piece of your charity. Believe it, Sir, you have been bloodily merciless, and the just God is now in making inquisition.

" —Even for the encouragement of them, whose pedantic " learning durst never shew her ridiculous head before an " easy school-man, whose livelihoods they unworthily usurp, " not dispensing the bread of life, but the darnell of giddy- " headed fancy and sedition, abhoring the way to peace, and " maligning those that ensue it."

Surgunt indocti, et rapiunt cælum, et nos cum omnibus doctrinis nostris detrudimur in gehennam.—Augustin.

" Obj. Aye, but we desire peace, so we may have truth " too.

" Ans. What mean ye by having truth; the preservation " of the old truth, or the institution of a new?

" If ye fear the alteration of the old, having your sover- " eign's oath, which you dare not believe, what other assur- " ance can you have?

" The blood you shed, is certain; the change you fear, is " uncertain: it is no wisdom to apply a desperate remedy to " a suspected disease."

It is an easy matter for you to write so; but it is not so easy for you to make wise men think so. Solomon's prudent man, and his fool, with their previsions and provisions, are to be seen, Prov. xxii. 3. You are very confident of your abilities, that dare oppose your judgment to that of a whole state.

" If the enjoyment of peace depends upon a full assurance " of truth, our discords may bear an everlasting date. God " hath threatened to remove his candlestick, and our wicked- " ness justly fears it; and so long as we fear it, shall we " abjure peace, the blessed means to prevent it? He that " seeks to settle truth by the sword, distracts it.

" Or is it a truth ye want; if so, is it of doctrine, or of " discipline? If of doctrine, *actum est de nostra religione;* " farewell our religion. Or, is it of discipline? Discipline " is but a ceremony. And did the Lord of the sabbath dis- " pense with a moral law, for the preservation of an ox's " life, or an ass', and shall we, to alter some few indifferent " ceremonies, allowed by the parliaments of three pious and

" wise princes, and the practice of many holy martyrs, who " sealed the true protestant religion with their blood, cry " down peace, and shed the blood of many thousand chris- " tians ?

" Our seduced protestants will have no set forms of prayer, " but what proceed immediately from their own fancies. " This is their truth.

" Our semi-separatists will hear our sermons, if they like " the teacher, but no divine service. This is their truth.

" Our separatists will not communicate in our churches, " nor join in our congregations. This is their truth."

Truth is one, as is the God of truth; and as for the separatists, anabaptists, antinomians, &c., what the state thinks of them, and how it proceeds against some of them, you should seek to know before you seem to censure. We contend not, Sir, for such a truth as must have a touch of an Irish toleration. The independents, those gentlemen do differ in judgment in that point, it is true, yet modestly, and without morosity. Reckon them with reverence, Sir, I pray you; they shall for learning, go cheek by jowl with your side of the first form. And if you take them in their pulpit employment, believe me, none of your's are to be compared with them. Alas, Sir, preaching, that is to say, opening the whole counsel of God, hath been out of fashion at court ever since I was born. More the sin and shame of somebody; and the judgment which is denounced, Amos vii. 12, 16, 17, reader, observe if it be not accomplishing. Neither is the quarrel for a few ceremonies; we contend for substance, for all our liberties, as we are men and christian men, do lie now at stake, and we hope the Lord will discover himself to be for us therein.

" Our anabaptists will not baptize until years of discretion, " and re-baptize. That is their truth.

" Our antinomians will have no repentance. This is their " truth.

" Our independents will have an universal parity. This is " their truth.

" Good God, when shall we have peace, if not until all " their truths meet!

" Obj. But Christ says, ' I come not to bring peace, but

" the sword," Mark x. 34; therefore for the propagation of " peace, it is lawful to use the sword.

" Ans. So he is termed ' a stumbling block,' 1 Cor. i. 23; " and does that warrant to stumble? So he says, ' All you " shall be offended because of me,' Matt. xxvi. 31; and " doth this patronize our offences? The law is good and " just: because then, ' we had not known sin but by the law,' " Rom. vii. 7, is it therefore lawful for us to sin? God for- " bid.

" Our Saviour brings the sword among us, as wholesome " meat brings sickness to a weakly, sick stomach, or physic " to a body abounding with humours; not intentionally, but " occasionally.

" Thus, by your erroneous and weak mistakes, you make " the Prince of Peace the patron of your unnatural war; and " the God of truth, the precedent of your unexamined " errors."

This hath been answered before, and if an accusation against us were enough, who should be guiltless? If you think, Sir, you can yet bring any thing against our proceedings, or what hath been said, and defame the name of any more than such a cavil as this, you have your liberty.

" But Almighty God, the champion of his own truth, and " maintainer of his own cause, hath, to more than common " admiration, appeared in this great enterprize.

" He that delivered Israel's handful from the hand of Pha- " raoh's host, hath shewed himself, in the almost incredible " proceedings of this heaven-displeasing war, the brief rela- " tion whereof may move those hearts, that are not seared, " or stone, to melt into a thankful acknowledgement of his " power, and remain as monuments of his mercy, that chil- " dren, yet unborn, may say hereafter, ' God was here.' " Namely:

" The two houses of parliament made first a general seiz- " ure of all the arms, ammunition, castles, forts and maga- " zines, and ships, being the whole visible strength of this " unhappy kingdom,"—

That is to say, before the papists could get them, for indeed they were designed to have had them, that we might have had what they have in Germany, that is to say, neither house, home, nor habitation; " The tender mercies of the

wicked are cruelty," for this parliament therefore, and that seizure, we humbly bless the name of our good God. But good Sir, not first before the plot for bringing of an army against the parliament. Nor first before many other things which conscience hath not silenced among some of you, and in due time the kingdom will take notice of, Sir, with all your tricks and ambiguities; you dance in a net, and your dissimulation and prevarication cannot be hid.

" —To whom, having now settled the militia, both by sea " and land, in their own hands, tides of proposition gold " came in upon the public faith; money, like blood from " the liver, conveyed through all the veins, issued to make a " large supply, and where it stopt a while, mountains of mas- " sive plate, from the vast goblet to the slender thimble, this " faith removed into their safe possession. And when the " great milch-cow began to slake, they prest her nipples, and " by hard straining renewed the stream. As physicians " evacuate the body, sometimes by vomit, sometimes by " purge, sometimes by phlebotomy, semetimes by sweating, " sometimes fluxing, sometimes diuretically, yet purge but " the same peccant humour; so did they, first by proposi- " tion, then by way of contribution, now by way of loan, " then by way of subsidy, no less than fifty at one time, here " by way of assessment, there by way of twentieth part, then " by way of excise, one while by way of sequestration, then " by way of plunder, but still the issue, money. And to " work the better upon the affections of the multitude, all " this for the behoof of king and parliament, for the pre- " tended defence of, God knows what, religion; insomuch " that men came in like swarms to the next tree, or rather " like treacherous decoys, with their innocent multitude into " the net, and horses without number."

Truly our gold came not in as it ought to have done; we had then, and yet have too many amongst us whose earrings were laid by for an idol of their own making. But now you speak of our incomes for the war: remember I pray you, Sir, that we do not forget some of your receipts also. 1. The lands and money of almost all the nobility and gentry of the land. 2. Malignant merchants and citizens, not a few. 3. All the civilians in the kingdom, and, reader, into their hands, all the treasure of the kingdom was running, out of all

their coffers you expend. And indeed it must be so, for it was ill got, and must not be better spent. 4. You received one sum from beyond sea upon a good pawn. 5. And one hundred thousand pounds came in, they say, elsewhere that was holpen to be gotten by us, and now is spent to fight against us. 6. All the wicked ones which are scummed off the three kingdoms are on your side, these usually love not any thing better than that which God hateth, and will give their first-born to a Moloch; the gentleman observes it well, we are fain to strain hard for money, every thing expended in the things of God came too too hard. But to idolatry, every thing comes easy; the health, 1 Kings xviii. 28. they cut themselves with knives, &c. the wealth, Exod. xxxii. 6. they plucked off their earrings: the ease, Exod. xxxii. 6. rose early; their very children too, Psalm cvi. 37. they offered their sons and daughters to devils. 7. All the papists in christendom yield you their prayers and purses, then I shall desire thee, good reader, to mark with me these two things: 1. who they are that fight against us, that is to say, a gracious prince, and some others misled into the deep mire, alas, where now they stick so fast that God only can help them out. 2. What it is to be feared these men will do, if they should prevail, namely: pull down any thing to set themselves up again, and to repair the ruins of their thus spent states and fortunes.

" Thus were they supplied with all necessaries which the " arm of flesh could provide, for the waging of an uncon- " querable war, whereon the money already expended, makes " no less figures then seventeen millions sterling, besides the " revenues of the king, queen, prince, Duke of York, and the " whole estates of all such as take up arms against them, be- " sides free quarter, and soldiers yet unpaid. His majesty " on the other side driven away with a few attendants, not " having among them, so many swords and pistols, as these " had cannons, wanting both money, horses, and ammunition, " only what he received from the piety of some believing " subjects, whose ears were pamphlet-proof against all detama- " tions and scandals cast upon sacred majesty, finding slen- " der provision in his own dominions, and that stopt, or " seized which came from foreign parts. No shipping, but " what he purchased with the precious and extreme hazard of

" his few, but valiant, subjects. No arms, but what he gained " by the courageous venture of his own neglected life, the " subject of our continual prayers. Yet hath God covered " his head in the day of battle, and blest him with such suc- " cess, that he is, by the divine providence, become a great " master of the field, and almost able to maintain fight with " his own ships at sea."

It is the desire of our souls, that his majesty were master of his own passions, and then of all the three kingdoms. And we do not doubt of both these, if God would once please to rescue his sacred person out of your hands; in the mean time, we will not cease to pray, that God would give him the great evidences of his external love to great ones, that is to say, a wealthy family, solid honour, and a sure posterity, yea, and that his soul may be bound in the bundle of life, with the Lord his God, while the soul of his, and our adversaries be by God cast out, as out of the middle of a sling: surely God is just, and the misleaders' houses have been as the moth, or as the lodge, that the watchman maketh. Job xxvii. 18.

" The God of heaven bless him, and prosper him, and " make his days as the days of heaven, that being here the " faith's defender, he may still be defended by the object of " that faith.

" Nor is the providential hand of God more visible, in " prospering him than in punishing his enemies, whose ruins " may remain as sea-marks to us, and pyramids of God's " power; whereof a touch:"

To your providential observations, I say thus: Sir, surely were not profaneness, and blasphemies as toys and trifles among you, you durst not speak, much less print such blasphemies as these, such language, as indeed benefits heathens, rather than christians. Solomon saith, Eccles. ix. 2, 3: That all things come alike to all, and the same condition, in regard of outward things, is to the just, as to the wicked; as is the good, so is the sinner; he that sweareth as he that feareth an oath. On all this, this gentleman concludes presently, that which Solomon gave his heart to know, and could not comprehend, verse 1. This gentleman concludes, that Master Hampden was punished. Thus, and in this manner. For this, and this. Though you dare deal thus boldly with

the secrets of human majesty, yet if you presume so with the divine, look for your reward, and be sure the damnation doth not sleep of those, who like brute beasts made to be taken and destroyed, speak evil of things and men they know not. But to the particulars, reader, the reproach which he would cast upon that honourable man, Master Hampden, hear the truth of: Master Hampden, as many other godly and gallant patriots, stood against ship-money and such things, as being, for so indeed they were, against law, and liberty of the subject; denying to pay those things which indeed ought not to have been demanded: here hence a suit is commenced against the said Master Hampden, a suit in his majesty's name for the things aforesaid, wherein he endeavoured legally to defend himself and with himself us, and ours, and the kingdom: choosing rather to suffer imprisonment, &c., than to do act, either against conscience within, which is and will be, *index, judex, carnifex*, or law without, which ought to be to every good subject *sicut murus abenem* as a sure defence. Sir, had his majesty had about him such as Master Hampden was, and would have pleased to have given ear unto them, which we do not desire to doubt his gracious disposition in, he would have spoken to our sovereign, words of truth and soberness, which would have been as so many precious preservatives against precipices; but the court was then, as it is now, full of pestilent sycophantism, more the pity, wherein I believe your reader will allow you none of the least share; Sir, I must tell you many bless God for those few, such as this gentleman was, and what aspersion you cast on him, you will never keep from recoiling in your own face.

" Sir John Hotham, then governor of Hull, who first de-
" fied and dared his sovereign to his face, what is become of
" him? how stands he a mark betwixt two dangers, having
" nothing left him but guilt enough to make him capable of a
" desperate fortune?

" Master Hampden, that first waged law and then war
" against his own natural prince, hath not he, since these un-
" happy troubles began, been first punished with the loss of
" children, nay, visited to the third generation, to the weak-
" ening, if not ruining of his family. and then with the loss
" of his own life in the same place where he first took up
" arms against his gracious sovereign? Was it not remarka-

" ble that the Lord Brooke, who so often excepted against
" that clause in the liturgy: From sudden death, good Lord
" deliver us: was slain so suddenly? who was so severe an
" enemy against peace, should perish in the same war he so
" encouraged? who so bitterly inveighed against episcopal
" government, should be so shot dead out of a cathedral
" church? who labouring to put out the left eye of established
" government, his left eye and life were both put out toge-
" ther?"

The Lord Brooke is the next man you bark at, and he is dead; more the pity had it otherwise pleased our good God; had he lived he would have made an excellent instrument of reformation indeed. But he took exception against that clause in the liturgy, From sudden death, good Lord deliver us; if he he did so it is answerable in the father's language, *Nulla subita mors piis,* so St. Augustin, there is no sudden death to the godly. I believe that noble lord was better prepared for that which God was pleased to call him to, even that day he died, I mean death itself, how suddenly soever it might seem to you to come, than you ever were, while you studied the writing of this book; he that is a mortified, and yet mortifying christian seeks to die daily, and desires to be dissolved, and to be with Christ which is best. Those that make their covenant with death, and their agreement with hell, whose only preparation for death is by endeavouring to forget it, to these men death is the terrible of terribles, but the righteous is bold as a lion, and is persuaded that neither life nor death, &c., shall be able to separate him from the love of God which is in Christ Jesus our Lord. But he was slain out of a cathedral: Sir, I do not wonder that any friend of reformation should be killed thence, they would kill reformation itself, were it in their power, and this that you allege, Sir, is one of the least of their sins: alas, the bishops and the cathedrals have killed thousands of souls, here they killed the body indeed, but they could go no further, you set a character upon that honoured lord, though against your will, which will not be forgotten, and indeed the memory of the just must be blessed. You, give him, as Caiaphas an excellent epitaph. *Deo et ecclesiæ occidit hic,* my Lord Brooke fell for God and the church. And bishops are down already, what then should the cathedrals do up? Truly I do not

know, unless to be a nest, and cage of all unclean birds, a harbour for dumb dogs, proud prebends, non residentiaries and a crew of ale-swilling singing men, who with their *boatus strenuus*, loud lowing, as that learned man calls it, sing loud abominations, morning, evening, and midday, where the counsels of God should be opened to his people, and converts gathered in to our Lord Jesus Christ. I have known that city, and cathedral, Sir, this many a year, and I believe there is not less, belonging to Michael's Church, Stow Church, the chapel, and the minster, than five thousand pounds per annum. And for the space of these forty years there hath hardly been a preaching minister in three of those four churches, nor sermons twice on the Lord's day in any one. Michael's and Stow were for the most part not used at all, saving for their burial places; there was one Maxfield and one Maddox, blind readers both, stipendiaries successively to three of these churches, as, I believe, not above twenty pounds a year, and in Maxfield's time, the clerk, John Bird by name, read the first lesson, and gave the responsals.

" How is Duke Hamilton, scarce warm in his new honour, " taken in his own snare, having entangled his lord and master " in so many inconveniences.

" How is Holland, whose livelihood was created by his so- " vereign's favours, branded with a double treachery, and like " a shuttlecock fallen at the first return, and scarce able to " raise himself by a sorry declaration?

" Is not Bristol Fiennes, who at his council of war condemn- " ed and executed innocent blood, himself condemned, plead- " ing innocence, at a council of war, from the mouth of his " own general, though finding, perchance, more mercy than " he either deserved or shewed? But that blood that cried " to him for mercy, will cry to heaven for vengeance.

" And are not many more ripe for the same judgment, " whose notorious crimes have branded them for their respec- " tive punishments?

" How many of those blood-preaching ministers have died " expectorating blood, whilst others at this time, labouring " under the same disease, can find no art to promise a re- " covery? All whom I leave to possible repentance, and " pass over."

If you would name us some of these men and ministers it

would give much satisfaction, and make us to believe that you had not undertaken the impudent lying which is gone out through the land. I pray you do not forget, Sir, what you are to make appear to us: 1. That our's are blood-preaching ministers. 2. That some are dead, and many sick of that bloody disease. 3. And that if any one chanced to be sick, or die of a pleurisy, therefore, for this gentleman can tell, God smote him, because he at any time seemed to dislike a peace even as bad, yet blindly sought and sued for, as the Irish.

" Cromwell, that professed defacer of churches, witness " Peterborough and Lincoln, &c., and rifler of the monuments " of the dead, whose profane troopers, if fame has not forgot " to speak a truth, watered their horses at the font, and fed " them at the holy table; that Cromwell!

" Sands, whose sacrilegious troopers committed such bar- " barous insolencies, with his at least connivance, in the " church of Canterbury, and used such inhuman tortures on " the tender breasts of woman, to force confession of their " hidden goods, the golden subjects of their robbery."

Sure this gentleman was a prebend, had some college lease, or some such thing, he is so zealous of cathedrals. But let us see for answer. It is but, if fame speaks true, and *fama mendax aulicus* will lie. If the thing were so, as he says, namely, watering the horses at the font, &c., I do not know but that it may be easily answered, necessity makes that lawful sometimes which at other times is prohibited; read, Sir, and be not rash, Matt. xii. 3, 4. Reader, thou seest the method these malignants have in making parliament proceedings odious, viz. Oh, they pull down old monuments, &c. I believe wise men think that in Peterborough, Lincoln, and Canterbury too, there were many things not fit to stand, or else they were in a better condition than many of their sister churches. Gentlemen of your strain would rail at Henry VIII., if he were now living, for pulling down the good old abbeys. But if you could see, there are two most especial pieces of providence herein: blind zeal set them up I am sure, and you said, such pulls them down again. See God in this: here is a clear αντιπεπονθον, a very retail between the sin and the punishment: such zeal set them up, and such zeal pulled them down again. Shall not these soldiers rise up in

judgment against many of our great rabbins and doctors, these drones, and no-conscienced seniors daily saw, set by, and cried up, this Diana; and will you hear the reason?—By this craft we have our gain, Acts xix. 25. These that would be thought to be some great ones, came daily themselves, and caused others so to do, to offer near the holy table, as my author reverently calls it, the blind whelps of an ignorant devotion in sacrifice; of which sacrifice I may say as the apostle, The things which the heathen offer in sacrifice to their idols, they offer them to devils, not to God, 1 Cor. x. 19, 20; or as God himself of the then sacrifices, Isa. lxvi. 3. At length come the soldiers in the spirit, though not the wisdom and authority of Hezekiah, and they seeing this brazen serpent abused, break it all to pieces, and call it Nehushtan. You are angry, Sir, they care not for it; and for my part, I must needs say, *Digitus Dei hic est*, the finger of God is here. Some other things there are here, which I cannot pass over silently: your naming these gentlemen so oddly: Fiennes, that Cromwell, and plain Sands, &c. If you be a clergyman, I must tell you, in vain seems he to be religious which refrains not his tongue, James i. 26. I pray you let us leave to be proud, the Lord hath pretty well begun to humble us; *ego et rex meus*, are strains too high to hold long. This exalting of ourselves above what is called God and good, is a footstep of antichrist. Brother, amend this, I will shew you your portion else, 1 Sam. ii. 36., to cry out for a place in the priesthood, that you may eat a morsel of bread. Again, For the rifling of monuments. Was it matter of coin he rifled for? You speak language as if there had been something of gain there to be found. No, surely, there was nothing of that nature there. Upon the sepulchre of Semiramis there was written, *Si quis regum, &c.* If any king want money, in this tomb he shall find enough: that very tomb did Cyrus open, and there found an inscription, *Avare, tu, &c.* Thou covetous fool, see here an emblem of misery and mortality too, which should make thee, if thou wert wise, to regard no such trash. Then sure it was for conscience he did it; and if so, Sir, I will tell you, the monuments of the dead had as much need to be rifled and looked into, almost, as the monstrosities of the living. A church in London, and that no mean one, had, within these twelve months, as many brasses, yet to be seen

taken off the stones, as came to a great number, whereon is written such inscriptions as this: Of your charity pray for the souls of A. B., and C. D. his wife, &c., upon whose souls, and all christian souls, the Lord have mercy, &c. Are these dead poperies fit to stand before the eyes of living protestants, and in a time of reformation? St. Paul spies an altar, when time was, and at Athens too, (I pray you mark that universities and cathedrals too are not without their gross superstitions,) directed, To the unknown God, Acts xvii.; he cries it down then, and if the church had been constituted, I doubt not but he would have pulled it down too, and yet is blameless; but if we do any thing, the kingdom must ring on it. The wolf on a time looks over the hedge, and sees the shepherd killing a lamb, one of the flock for his food? Yea, saith he, he may do this, but if I should do so, &c. You can apply it. We desire you should tell us where, when, and by whom any tortures were used on the tender breasts of women; this takes, I suppose, like a ballad that is new among boys and ignorant people, 2 Sam. xvi. 2, 3. Ziba's lie, and the purpose thereof, I am sure, you know, viz. to ingratiate himself, by disgracing a far honester man. Remember, reader, and take heed, it was David's sin, his rash credence, yea, such a sin, as upon which followed a worse than that, the bestowing of that upon a knave, which was the inheritance of a honest man; yea, and mark how fast a lie sticks, upon better information David mended it not, 2 Sam. xix. 29. That all our reformers need reforming we agree with you; and it is our daily suit at grace's throne, that it may be so with them; for if any cannot rule his own house, how shall he guide the church of God, 1 Tim. iii. If then the reformers need reforming, what do the deformers do? If the cleanest places in England need washing, what do the foul holes and filthy sinks do? This prelatical hog-stye hath been swept but twice since the conquest; and the temple at Jerusalem had three sweepings, and in the three years of our Lord's ministry.

" What can the first expect, and what reward the other hath " found, I neither prophesy nor judge. If these, and such as " they, do fight for the reformed religion, God deliver every " good man both from them and it: ' Cursed be their wrath, " for it is fierce; and their anger, for it is cruel.'

" These (and of such many) are they, that whilst they pre-
" tend a reformation, need first to be reformed.

" Nor do I, in tasking this army of such impious barbar-
" isms, excuse or rather not condemn the other, whereof no
" question too great a number are as equally profane; whilst
" all together make up one body of wickedness, to bring a
" ruin on this miserable kingdom, for whose impieties his
" majesty hath so often suffered.

" Aye, but his majesty's army, besides those looser sorts of
" people, consists of numerous papists, the utter enemies of
" true religion.

" To whom the king hath sworn his protection, from those
" he may require assistance.

" But, unto all his people, as well papists as protestants,
" he hath sworn his protection; therefore from all his sub-
" jects, as well papists as protestants, he may require assist-
" ance."

Your logic is just like your divinity, Sir, I must be plain with you, and both stark naught; you say, To whom the king hath sworn his protection, from those he may require assistance: but unto the papists he hath sworn protection, therefore of them he may require assistance. To your minor. If you say the king hath sworn protection to the papists so as to the protestants, you speak ignorantly; not so as to the protestants, nor so as to the parliament. For the best subjects are to have the best protection Josh. ix. 9. 27. Gibeonites they may be, if you will, but no more; and if the king of Israel should have craved the help of the Gibeonites against the Israelites, sure it had been preposterous.

If you say, The king hath sworn to protect them, every way, you speak sadly: and it is as much as to say, the king hath sworn to protect them, which if they grow strong, and have not content, will powder, and poison him; you remember, and we too, the king of France, and I believe some of the assistants of his majesty that now is, the son, their near friends, should have been the assassinates in the time of his majesty that then was, king James, his royal father; if you say the king protects them other way, then by the law, it is no protection, but a toleration, like that of usury, &c. in our land; but the papists themselves renounce our laws: the last jesuit that died, did, in my hearing, at the gallows rail upon

them all, he said, they were bloody, ill made, and worse kept, &c. Then it must be toleration, but that word will sound ill. Nay, if you say the king protecteth, or that he ought to protect papists any way, you speak illegally; for, whom the law protects not, the king either cannot, or ought not to protect, but the law protects not papists, therefore the king ought not to protect them. Whom the law disarms, of them the king ought not to require an armed assistance, and that against parliament and protestant party; but the law disarms papists, therefore the king ought not to require an armed assistance of them. Again, I consider his majesty's subjects: as men and subjects, and so while they live amongst us, doubtless they have, and ought to have a kind of protection, namely, *Quoad sanguinem*, as to blood, no man may kill them; *Quoad jus et possessionem*, no man may rob them; but, if you look on them as enemies to religion, and papists, their portion is no more than to be tributaries; to pay so much an hour sleeping and waking; to hold themselves in their *ubi*, their place; to be uncapable of some offices, and many other things, which other men of the protestants have, &c.

" Neither does he call in papists, as papists, to maintain " religion, as himself hath often manifested, but as subjects to " subdue, or at least qualify sedition.

" The aid of the subject, is either in his person, or in his " purse, both are requirable to the service of a sovereign.

" Put case: his majesty should use the assistance of none " but protestants; tell me, would you not be apt to cavil " that he is favourable to the papists; neither willing to en- " danger their persons, nor endamage their purses; or at " least, that they are reserved for a last blow?"

As to your case, Sir, I give you this answer; It cannot be, but that offences will come, but woe unto them by whom they come; what necessity is there to use defence, where there is no opposition? Your devilish counsel tells his majesty, that they are against him, which are indeed most of all for him: and hereby he thinks himself straitened, to call about him those to help him, which indeed will neither help him nor you, longer than they think you help to help on their design, which is to set antichrist in his throne in England once again; the case then is this, let his majesty please once

to return to his great council again, let delinquents stand upon their own legs, let papists betake themselves to their tribute, restraint, &c. And then see, Sir, if you be not willfully blind, what necessity will be of this sin, of calling in papists, rebels, foreigners, &c. As to your distinction, that they are called in, not to maintain religion, &c. Why? Your religion, Sir, and that of Rome, will be enough consistent. See Vertum. Roman., and you have the jesuits' judgment in it, which I believe is of great authority with some of you. I tell you once again, that the protestant religion at large, and that is it which you would have, there went but a pair of shears between it and popery; and such a religion I believe the rebels and recusants too will be easily persuaded to maintain. As to that, that they are called in to subdue, or at least to qualify sedition; truly, you remember me of the trouble in Israel, in Absalom's time, which when it was composed, and the people of the land begin to differ among themselves again, 2 Sam. xx. 1, &c., there was come thither one Sheba the son of Bichri, a man of Belial, a wicked man, and he blew the trumpet, &c. and made a worse sedition than there was before. Believe it, Sir, those Shebas that you have called in, when our division is at the height, and their time is come, will be the first that will blow the trumpet, and say, We have no part in David, &c. we fought for the king, because we thought he would fight for the pope, otherwise we cannot be for him, unless he be against the power of protestant religion. As to our using of evil instruments, I give two things in answer. Woe to that wicked counsel which brings the good men of the land into such bad straits. I am persuaded there are some, which put themselves into the service of the parliament, and are wicked, that they may rob and steal, and do wickedly, and thereby, in the eyes of them which cannot see, asperse the cause and parliament side. One captain was hanged not long since, who at his death confessed and professed himself a roman catholic, I was a bystander, and died for plunder.

" Or in case papists should largely underwrite to your pro-
" positions, send in horses, arms, or other provisions, would
" you not accept it, and for its sake their persons too?

" Are you so strict in your preparations, as to catechize

" every soldier; or to examine, first, every officer's religion; " or having the proffer of a good popish or debauched com- " mander, tell me, should he be denied his commission?

" Remember Sir Arthur Aston, whom his majesty enter- " tains by your example.

" These things, indifferently considered, it will manifestly " appear, that the honest-minded vulgar are merely seduced, " under the colour of piety, to be so impious, as by poison- " ing every action of their lawful prince, to foster their im- " plicit rebellion.

" But in case your side should prosper and prevail, what " then? would then our miseries be at an end? Reason " tells us, No. God keeps us from the experience. Think " you that government, whether new or reformed, which is " set up by the sword, must not be maintained by the sword? " And how can peace and plenty be consistent with perpetual " garrisons, which must be maintained with a perpetual " charge; besides the continual excursions and connived at " injuries committed by soldiers, judge you."

As to the maintaining the government by the sword, &c., and if so set up it must be so preserved, &c., I am sorry to see that a gentleman, a wise man, as you would make the world believe you are, should wrap and involve together so many, so gross, and so absurd ignorancies. I will but ask you and the men of your side these questions: Is the govern- ment of Christ's church now to set down; or the judgment to be executed upon his adversaries, is it now to be written? See Psalm cxlix. 9, " To execute on them the judgment written," &c. See the places whereto all our expositors send us, as Deut. vii. And then I must tell you, you have told the world what a divine and text-man you are. Do we dream of our power, or of an arm of flesh, to maintain the govern- ment of the church of our Lord, once recovered out of the devil's hands? Alas for you. Dare we distrust the Lord's blessing, think you, we doing our utmost duty herein, both upon our king and us? You render yourself to me a mere carnal man: he who hath promised to be with us to the end of the world, to set his kingdom in the midst among his ene- mies, to tread down Satan shortly under our feet, to give a spirit of life to the two dead witnesses, that great fear may come on them which see them, Rev. xi.; into his hands and

protection we commend our poor endeavours, and let him do what seemeth him good.

" Or, put the case, this necessary consequence could be " avoided, think you the ambition of some new statesmen ac- " customed to such arbitrary and necessitated power, on the one " side, and the remaining loyalty of his majesty's disinherited " subjects, watching all opportunities to right their injured " sovereign and themselves, on the other side, would not raise " perpetual tempests in this kingdom ?

" Or, if such an almost unpreventable evil should not en- " sue, think you such swarms of sectaries sweat for nothing ? " Are their purses so apt to bleed to no end ? Will not their " costs and pains expect at least a congratulatory connivance " in the freedom of their consciences ? Or will their swords, " now in the strong possession of so great a multitude, know " the way into their quiet scabbards, without the expected " liberty of their religions ? And can that liberty produce " any thing but an established disorder; and is not disorder " the mother of anarchy, and that of ruin ? "

You speak ignorantly and poorly, so you think and write. Sectaries' purses ! Alas, Sir, God help our treasuries, if we spent out of their coffers: these are the men who hinder us; you are deceived. There is about London, one, and I believe he is not alone, jesuit, in the sect of the anabaptists; he labours, sweats, confers, preaches, defends that point with all his might. And why ? Because he knows, that all the disciples he gets into that way, are all clearly withdrawn from the parliament. Their tenet is, you know, if you know any thing, that Christ can defend his kingdom without war; and their usual quotation, that of our Saviour to Peter, " He that takes the sword, shall perish thereby."

" Open then your eyes, closed with craft, and wilful blind- " ness, and consider, and prevent that, which your continued " disobedience will unavoidably repent too late.

" But the truth is, they are all papists, by your brand, that " comply not in this action with you. Admit it were so; are " not papists as tolerable for his majesty, as anabaptists, " Brownists, separatists, atheists, antinomians, Turks, and " indeed all religions and factions, nay, papists too, for his " subjects ? These of his majesty's side come freely, out of " their allegiance as subjects; your's are preached in, coming

" out of obstinacy, as rebels: they at their own charges, " proportionable to their abilities; these, like Judas, selling " their sovereign's blood, for ill-paid wages. Yet, both sides " pretend a quarrel for the true protestant religion.

" Good God, what a monstrous religion is this, that seeks " protection from the implacable opposition of her two " champions!

" His majesty protests to maintain it; the two houses " protest to maintain it: oh, for an *Œdipus* to read this " riddle!

" His majesty adds one clause more, wherein if the other " party would agree, the work will be at an end, which is:

" According to the established constitutions, by oath taken " by him at his coronation: and there the two houses leave " him, contending for a yet undetermined alteration."

You may blush to mention such a word; was it not enough for yourselves to forswear, lie, &c., but you must seek to be guilty of other men's sins also? Your oath, &c., was it not a fine one? And that I may say no more, *horresco referens*, God is, to the everlasting shame of that party, now shewing what the head of the faction durst do, and did do, in the great oath you mention, of which the world will, ere long, receive enough of satisfaction in his condemnation, and the truth's vindication.

" And, for my part, I dare not conceive such evil of the " Lord's anointed, and my gracious sovereign, as to fear him " perjured.

" Hath not his majesty, in the presence of that God by " whom he reigns, imprecated the curse of heaven on him " and his royal posterity, *(sub sigillo sacrament.* too) if he, to " his utmost, maintain not the true protestant religion exer- " cised in that blessed queen's days, and propagated by the " blood of so many glorious martyrs, at which time God " blessed this island in so high a measure, if he preserve not " the just privileges of parliament, and liberty of the sub- " ject.

" Nay more, did not his majesty so promise the severe " execution of the statute against all recusants, that if he " failed, he desired not the aid of his good subjects?

" What inferior person would not think his reputation " wronged, not to take up confidence upon such terrible

" terms? What notorious evil hath his majesty perpetrated, " to quench the sparkles of a common charity?

" Consider, oh, consider; he acts his part before the King " of kings, whose eye is more especially upon him; he acts " his part before his fellow princes, to whom he hath de- " clared this his imprecation; he acts his part before his " subjects, whose stricter hand weighs his pious words with " too unequal balances.

" Were he the acknowledger of no God, yet the princes " of the earth, if guilty of such a perjury, would abhor him. " Or, were all the princes of the earth blind, deaf, or partial, " would not he think his crown a burthen, to be worn upon " his perjured brow, before his own abused people? Or, " having renounced his subjects' aid upon his fail, could he " expect that loyalty, which now he wants upon a mere sus- " picion?

" But he is a prince, whom God hath crowned with graces " above his fellows; a prince, whom for his piety, few ages " could parallel."

He is our dread sovereign; never the better, I must tell you, Sir, for such as your commendation, if the old rule be true, which is, *a perversis vituperari decorum est;* it is ill to be commended of wicked men. We desire that our king may be inferior to none of the kings of Israel in heavenly graces, no, not Josiah, Hezekiah; to none of the kings of England in earthly glory; no, not Henry VII. in riches, nor Henry VIII. in works of reformation: the evil counsels that are about him being taken from his throne, we doubt not the prosperity thereof. The pulling of feathers from our garments to make pillows, and put under the elbows, is both the work and emblem of a parasite. There were certain families in Africa, saith my author, which if they did but only commend trees, beasts, or children, for the most part they never did thrive after it. Gell. lib. ix. cap. 1. God bless his majesty, and his.

" What vices of the times have branded his repute? His " youth, high diet, strength of body, and sovereign power, " might have inclined and wrapped him to luxurious vanity, " as well as other monarchs, whose effeminacies have enerved " the strength of their declining kingdoms. How many " would have held it a preferment, to be attorney to his royal

" lust, or secretary to his bosom sin? yet he remains a pre-
" cedent of unblemished chastity.

" He might have pleased and pampered up his wanton
" palate with the choice of curious wives, to lighten cares
" which wait upon the regal diadem; yet he continues the
" pattern of a chaste sobriety. He might have magnified
" his mercy, and sold his justice, to reward a service, in par-
" doning offences committed by those of near relation; yet
" he abides the example of inexorable justice.

" These and many other eminent graces and illustrious
" virtues, can claim no birth from flesh and blood, especially
" in those whose pupilages are strangers to correction; nor
" is it safe divinity, to acknowledge such high gifts from any
" hand but heaven.

" Which being so, my conscience and religion tell me,
" that Almighty God, who is all perfection, will not leave a
" work so forward so imperfect; but will, from day to day,
" still add and add to his transcendant virtues, until he
" appear the glory of the world, and after many years be
" crowned in the world of glory.

" *Rerum prima salus, et una Cæsar.*"—Martial, lib. viii.
" Ep. 66.

" *Rerum prima salus, et una Christus.*"—Phil. iii. 8.

POSTSCRIPT TO THE READER.

" Now thou hast heard the harmony of Scriptures without
" corruption, and the language of reason without sophistry."

Reader, thou hast read these notes upon this unanswerable piece, as they are pleased to style it; I appeal to thee, whether this be not Scripture full of corruption, and language which is nothing but sophistry: do not forget that the devil quotes Scripture, but our Saviour cites it right, Matt. iv. 3, 4, &c. He is the Jew that is one inwardly, Rom. ii. 29, and not he that praiseth himself is allowed, but he whom the Lord praiseth, 2 Cor. x. 18.

" Thou hast not only heard divine precepts, but those
" precepts backed with holy examples: neither those out of
" the Old Testament alone, but likewise out of the New."

The precepts and examples too, how impertinent, thou hast seen reader, before; be not cozened with a blind confidence; remember Solomon's rule, Prov. xiv. 15, "The fool believes every thing, but the prudent will consider his steps."

"Being now no matter left for thy exceptions, prevaricate "no longer with thy own soul: and, in the fear of God, I "now adjure thee once again, as thou wilt answer before the "tribunal at the dreadful and terrible day; that thou faith-"fully examine and ponder the plain texts which thou hast "read, and yielding due obedience to them, stop thine ears "against all sinister expositions; and remember that histo-"rical scripture will admit no allegorical interpretation."

Your rule for the exposition of Scripture is a fine one, are you not ashamed of it?

"If any thing in this treatise shall deserve thy answer, do "it punctually, briefly, plainly, and with meekness. If by "direct Scripture thou canst, without wrestling, refute my "error, thou shalt reform, and save thy brother; if not, re-"cant thine, and hold it no dishonour to take that shame to "thyself which brings glory to thy God."

Your answer you have had plainly, Sir, by direct Scripture, and those your own too, delivered from the pestilent perverting, as is to see to all men, not wilfully blinded. Now, therefore, I retort your admiration, and what you say to the reader I say to you, As you will answer before God's tribunal, be not ashamed to vomit up your poison you have given and taken, and receive this antidote, Exod. xxi. 33, "If a man shall open a well, or dig a pit, and not cover it again, the owner of the pit," &c. Read and apply with trembling. There was a bird in those countries named Justus, because she always hid her excrements, which she knew to be exceeding hurtful to men.—*Phot. in Biblio.* I would you would get a paddle and cover your dung.

1 Peter iii. 13: "Be always ready to give an answer to every one that asketh you a reason, with meekness and fear."

If the sons of Sion get advantage hereby to establish them in the present truth, I have enough, and let Christ, the king of kings and Lord of lords, have honour in this, that great is truth, and it will prevail.

Deo trin-uni gloria.

Acts vi. 9, 10: "There arose certain of the synagogue, which are called libertines, but they were not able to resist the wisdom of the Spirit by the which he spake."

THE DOCTRINE OF

JUSTIFICATION BY FAITH,

OPENED AND APPLIED FROM ROM. III. 24, 25.

WHEREIN WE HAVE MANY WEIGHTY QUESTIONS BRIEFLY HANDLED (SOME OF THEM) BY THAT FAITHFUL AND EMINENT SERVANT OF CHRIST, MR. W. BRIDGE.

Never before printed, but now made public for the benefit of weak Christians.

PRIVATELY PRINTED, A. D. 1705.

"Therefore it is of faith, that it might be by grace, to the end the promise might be sure to all the seed."—Rom. iv. 16.

TO THE CHRISTIAN READER.

WHAT is here presented to public view, was not designed in the least by the Author, as may be seen by its being buried in oblivion all the time of his life, and its being posthumous. No doubt but we are great losers thereby, for had the Author published it, no doubt but it would have come forth with greater advantage.

Nay, the publisher had not the least thoughts, for many years, of making it public, had not importunity, and the great need he sees weak christians stand in of information in this weighty point, prevailed.

And although the whole of what you have here is not Mr. Bridge's, yet you have nothing here but what is agreeable to his manuscript.

And where there is any thing in this treatise that was taken out of any author, and the book whence it was taken not pointed to, it was because the publisher only designed it at first for private use, and afterward could not do it without great trouble.

That the God of all grace would be pleased to bless this small piece to those into whose hands it shall come, is the hearty prayer of him who is thine, in all christian love, to serve. Farewell.

ON JUSTIFICATION BY FAITH.

" Being justified freely by his grace, through the redemption that is in Jesus Christ. Whom God hath set forth to be a propitiation, through faith in his blood, to declare his righteousness for the remission of sins that are past, through the forbearance of God."—Rom. iii. 24, 25.

The apostle is here treating of that fundamental article of the christian religion, viz. justification before God by faith in Christ, which is plainly laid down in this place; wherein he clearly opens the doctrine of justification, denying it to be by the works of the law, and affirming it to be by faith in Christ.

Negatively, he shews we are not justified by the works of the law, which he proves by divers arguments.

In that all the world have sinned, and " are come short of the glory of God." The gentiles he proves have sinned against the light and law of nature, and so are condemned by that law: Rom. ii. 12, " For as many as have sinned without law, shall also perish without law." Here we see, though the gentiles had not the written law of Moses, yet they having the light and law of nature, should be condemned for sinning against the same.

And the Jews who had the written law of Moses, and having broke the same, should be judged by that law: Rom. ii. 12, " And as many as have sinned in the law, shall be judged by the law." So that here is the whole world, both Jews and gentiles, concluded under guilt. Oh, what a solemn condition is poor man by the fall brought into! Rom. iii. 19, " That every mouth may be stopped, and the whole world become guilty before God," Being hereby rendered utterly unable to frame any excuse in their own defence, or to find out any righteousness of their own by which they might be justified before the holy God. And this he brings in as the inevitable conclusion of what he had been before discoursing of: verse 20, " Therefore by the deeds of the law there shall no flesh be justified in his sight."

There can be no justification for poor man, in God's sight, by the works of the law, and the reason is rendered, verse 20, "For by the law is the knowledge of sin." Here we may see, the law is so far from being our justifying righteousness, as that it convinceth us of sin, and concludes us under the guilt of the same.

The apostle proves all men by breaking of the law, "are come short of the glory of God," verse 23. As when persons run in a race, and faint by the way, so missing of the prize; even so hath poor man by the fall, lost the image of God, come short of heaven, and can in no wise reach eternal life by the law's righteousness. Hereon the apostle proceeds to shew how poor man may be justified, and what that righteousness is by which he only can be justified before the tribunal of God. Which

Affirmatively, he declares to be by the righteousness of God. Verse 21, "But now the righteousness of God without the law, is manifested, being witnessed by the law and the prophets." Verse 22, "Even the righteousness of God, which is by faith of Jesus Christ, unto all, and upon all that believe, for there is no difference," that is, both Jew and gentile are justified one and the same way; and in the text he comes to lay down more particularly, the true nature of justification in its several causes. As

You have the principal efficient cause, which is God: it is his work or act, chap. viii. 33, "It is God that justifieth." So in the words of my text, "being justified by his grace," that is, by God's grace. The Scripture constantly speaks of justification, as to *us*, in a passive sense; it is not our own, but God's act.

The impulsive or moving cause is here denoted; "freely by his grace," so that there is nothing in any man which might move God to act thus towards him, but it is free grace, from whence the motion first came.

The meritorious cause, namely, the righteousness of Christ, here said to be "through the redemption that is in Jesus Christ." His blood is the atoning sacrifice for man's sin, upon which account Christ is here called a propitiation.

The formal cause is, remission of sin, and imputation of righteousness; so that in this act of free grace, God remits all sin, and imputes Christ's righteousness to the believing

person: this is implied in the text, and expressly mentioned, chap. iv. 6, "Even as David describeth the blessedness of the man unto whom God imputeth righteousness without works," saying, ver. 8, "Blessed is the men to whom the Lord will not impute sin." Here is the non-imputation of sin, and the imputation of righteousness both expressed.

The instrumental cause is faith, here called, "faith in his blood." Faith is the hand whereby we receive Christ's righteousness for the justifying our persons in the sight of a holy God.

The final cause of a sinner's free justification is expressed in the following words, ver. 26, "To declare his righteousness, that he might be just, and the justifier of him that believeth in Jesus. Here God shews to men and angels how exactly righteous he is in punishing of sin, though not in the person of the sinner, yet in his surety: so that free justification is carried on in such a way as all grace comes down on the sinner, and the glory of all returns to the great God.

Thus the words being opened, I take up this point of doctrine:

That there is much of the free grace of God shines forth in the justification of a sinner, by faith in Christ.

By justification I understand that gracious and just act of God, whereby through the imputation of Christ's righteousness, the believer is judicially freed from the guilt of all sin, and accepted as righteous in Christ unto eternal life, to the praise of God's free grace and justice.

Now there is much of the free grace of God shines forth in this way of justification, therefore, says Paul, "being justified freely by his grace." Freely, in opposition to any thing done by man; so that we have God's free act held forth in this blessed doctrine of justification.

And by his grace, that is, God's free favour, not in any wise deserved by us, but freely extending itself to all those that, through grace, believe in the Lord Christ.

Now, for the clearing of this doctrine, I shall

First, Open it by answering some questions which concern the same.

Secondly, Shew wherein free grace so much shines forth by this doctrine. And

Thirdly, How this doth concern the comfort and practice of all true believers.

As for the questions which concern the doctrine take these:

Whose and what kind of act is this justifying act?

It is God's act, he doth it, as Rom. viii. 33, "It is God that justifieth." And it is opposed to condemnation, verse 34, "Who is he that condemneth?" Now it being opposed to condemnation, it most plainly appears to be an external act of God, who as supreme judge is here brought in: then we have also the person justified, and that is an elect person, one who is effectually called. ver. 30, "Moreover, whom he did predestinate them he also called, and whom he called them he also justified." Here is also the only ground of the believer's plea brought in, ver. 34, "It is Christ that died, yea rather that is risen again, who is even at the right hand, of God, who also maketh intercession for us." And from hence arises a full discharge, God justifies. Ver. 35, "Who shall separate us from the love of Christ?" So that the Holy Ghost seems here to carry a sinner's justification in a way of judicial process, that so it may most evidently appear that justification is an external act of God, and so done in time; and not an internal act, which ever was, and always remains in God, but makes no change in a person justified: but God's act in justification, makes a relative change, it changes a person's state.

As, suppose a malefactor be condemned to die, a pardon comes from his prince; now, of a condemned person he becomes uncondemned, his state is hereby changed. So, justification makes a real change of a person's state, and therefore must needs be an external act of God's free grace and justice, and so done in time. It is an act of free grace as it is devolved on the believer, but it is an act of justice as it is carried with respect to the merit of Christ, and in each respect it appears to be acted in time.

Again, If justification were by an internal act in God, then would the elect be justified from eternity: but that it is not so, will thus appear.

All men naturally are "children of wrath," says Paul, Eph. ii. 3, which could not be, had they come into the world in a justified state; for a person cannot be in two contrary states

at one and the same time. How a person can be obnoxious to wrath, and yet at the same time be in a justified state; how persons can be under the guilt of sin, and yet at the same time be justified from the same guilt, seems somewhat strange; but thus it must be, if persons were justified from eternity. Sure I am that Paul doth both clearly and fully prove other doctrine. "For we have before proved both Jews and gentiles, that they are all under sin," Rom. iii. 9. Under the guilt of sin, which is directly opposite to a justified state: so that the persons of the elect could in no wise be justified from eternity.

Justification being opposed, as hath been shewn, to condemnation, they can in no wise stand together, but the setting up of the one destroys the other, as John iii. 18, "He that believeth on him, (on Christ) is not condemned; (that is, he is justified,) but he that believeth not, is condemned already." Hence we may see there is nothing more obvious than this, that on a person's believing in Christ, there is a passing from one state to another, from a state of condemnation to a state of justification. Thus we find the same, "Verily, verily, I say unto you, he that heareth my word, and believeth on him that sent me, hath everlasting life, and shall not come into condemnation, but is passed from death to life," John v. 24. Here we are to take notice that this life here spoken of comes in a way of believing, and so is to be understood of the life of justification: and here we have a passing from death to life, on a person's believing; here is a passing from a state of condemnation to a state of justification, and that on a person's believing; from whence it doth most evidently appear, that justification, properly so called, is not until persons believe in Christ, for then, and not until then, is their state changed.

That justification is not until believing, will clearly appear from Christ's own words, "Then Jesus said unto them, verily, verily, I say unto you, except ye eat the flesh of the Son of Man, and drink his blood ye have no life in you," John vi. 53. Here Christ asserts the absolute necessity of the application of a crucified Saviour, without which there can be no life. Now, the eating here intended is plainly meant of believing, "Jesus said, this is the work of God, that you believe on him whom he hath sent." ver. 29. And

Christ being here speaking to his followers under the metaphor of eating, he holds forth himself as the only bread of life; and believing in him is the eating of his flesh here intended in this chapter. "And Jesus said unto them, I am the bread of life, he that cometh to me shall never hunger," which the next words shew, is meant of believing, "and he that believes on me shall never thirst," ver. 35. Now the eating here being believing, the life intended by Christ, must be meant of justification; so that from Christ's own mouth, we have it evidently asserted, that no man is personally justified until believing and so not from eternity.

If persons are justified in a proper sense by faith, then are we not justified from eternity, for we believe in time, not from eternity. And that we are justified by faith, is the doctrine of the gospel, as is apparent from the whole current of God's word: "Knowing that a man is not justified by the works of the law, but by the faith of Jesus Christ: even we have believed in Jesus Christ, that we might be justified by the faith of Christ," Gal. ii. 16. That the apostle is here speaking of personal justification in the sight of God, is beyond all doubt, to any that shall duly consider the scope of the Holy Ghost in the place; though some to evade the force of the text, would have no more intended than this: that we might know we are justified. And this opinion makes all faith to be assurance, which would condemn many of the generation of the just. Christ speaks for the comforting of those who were true believers, that knew not their own state, so as to take that comfort that did belong to them. Matt. v. They were poor in spirit, mourning, and wanted comfort; they were meek, yea, they were hungring and thirsting after righteousness. Under many blessed promises they were, and so assuredly were true believers, yet they wanted assurance of their interest in those promises; so that their faith, though justifying and saving, was not risen so high as assurance. And if all faith were assurance, then might John have spared himself that labour of writing to those that had eternal life, but did not know they had it, 1 John v. 13. Now, by eternal life, in this place, no doubt but justification is one principal part, if not the main thing intended by the Holy Ghost. Now, this he says they had, and true believers they were, though they did not know it;

so that their faith was not assurance, though their justification was in a way of believing. The apostle brings in the example of Abraham as a pattern in this work of justification: "For what saith the Scripture? Abraham believed God, and it was imputed to him for righteousness," Rom. iv. 3. And the same way are the gentiles justified: "And the Scripture foreseeing that God would justify the heathen through faith, preached before the gospel unto Abraham, saying, In thee shall all nations be blessed," Gal. iii. 8. Here are two words in this text, that lie directly against justification before believing: thar God *would* justify the heathen; this must needs respect time to come, and cannot properly be said of that which is then past: the other is, "In thee *shall* all nations be blessed," that is, justified; now, how can a *shall be*, be put on a thing already done? Thus, "In the Lord shall all the seed of Israel be justified," Isa. xlv. 25. That is, in union with Christ, shall the persons of all the elect be not only declared, but justified. Paul also speaks to the same purpose, "For as by one man's disobedience, many were made sinners; so by the obedience of one man, many shall be made righteous," Rom. v. 19. Here it is remarkable, when the Holy Ghost speaks of Adam's sin, condemning of his posterity, he speaks of it as already past. But when he speaks of Christ's righteousness for the justification of poor sinners, he changes the tenses, and says, "Many shall be made righteous:" as if the Spirit on purpose designed, to prevent our thoughts in running after justification before believing. And thus the Scripture speaks of our personal justification to be wrote in time only.

Again, if the elect were justified from eternity, then should they be righteous from eternity; for when God justifies any person, he clothes him with righteousness, as with a garment. And this is one great thing the church of God hath to glory in, "I will greatly rejoice in the Lord, my soul shall be joyful in my God," Isa. lxi. 10. Now, what is the ground of all this joy, but this: "For he hath clothed me with the garments of salvation, he hath covered me with the robe of righteousness." Here is the true state of those that believe in Christ. But, if we would see the true state and condition persons are in before believing, let us hear what the Holy Ghost saith in this case, "For we have before proved both

Jews and Gentiles, that they are all under sin," Rom. iii. 9. Now who can suppose that the elect of God are here exempted from this deplorable condition, before they are brought by faith to close with Christ? Nay, Paul here speaks of himself, with the rest of the saints: "What then, are we better than they? no, in no wise." Their state had been better in Paul's account, no doubt, had he thought them to have been in a justified state from eternity; but alas, his thoughts were otherwise, as the next words shew: "As it is written, there is none righteous, no not one," ver. 10. To the same purpose we find him speaking, "And such were some of you, but ye are washed, but ye are sanctified, but ye are justified, in the name of the Lord Jesus, and by the Spirit of our God," 1 Cor. vi. 11. Here the apostle gives us to understand, that, before their calling, they were neither sanctified nor justified in the name of Christ. And surely there is no other name given under heaven, whereby any can be justified, but the name of Christ only. Acts iv. 12. So then, in Paul's judgment, while persons are unbelieving and unrighteous, they are not justified persons, and so not justified from eternity.

But Paul says, "God justifies the ungodly."

In this place the Holy Ghost is setting forth the doctrine of justification by faith, in opposition to justification by works: "Now to him that worketh, is the reward not reckoned of grace, but of debt," Rom. iv. 4. If persons could fulfil the law's righteousness, then would their justification be a debt due to them, and not a favour graciously bestowed on them. Then he proceeds, "But to him that worketh not," ver. 5, that is, with an intent to seek justification by his works, as the pharisees did, Luke xviii. 11, 12, 14, "but believeth," as the publican, who had recourse to the free grace of God for his only relief, Luke xviii. 13, smiting his breast in a way of self-abhorrence, and saying, "God be merciful to me a sinner," his only help was in believing "on him that justifies the ungodly." Let us observe, the ungodly person here spoken of is a believer, and may be said to be ungodly in a comparative sense, if he compare himself, as Paul did, with the holy, pure, spiritual law of God, Rom. vii., and so can in no wise seek justification by the law's righteousness, but must in a way of believing, betake himself to him that justifies

the ungodly, not in, but from their ungodliness, as, "And by him all that believe are justified from all things, from which they could not be justified by the law of Moses," Acts xiii. 19.

Again, The persons here justified may be said to be ungodly, because the state of the elect is such, when grace lays hold of them, Ezek. xvi. 6. "Cast out to the loathing of thy person." verse 6. "Polluted in thine own blood, yea, I said to thee, when thou wast in thy blood, live." So that free grace finds persons in their ungodliness, and freely absolves them from the same: so that this text is so far from speaking of any person's justification, whilst wallowing in sin, that it clearly proves justification by faith only.

"But the elect of God were chosen in Christ before the foundation of the world," Eph. i. 4. "And loved with an everlasting love," Jer. xxxi. 3. Therefore could not be under wrath, but must needs be in a justified state, though they knew it not; it was not evidenced to them until believing.

That the elect were chosen in Christ, and loved with a love of benevolence and good will, is very true; God willed them all good from everlasting; and it is also as true, that the same elect and beloved "persons, were dead in sin, and children of wrath, by nature," Eph. ii. "Yea without Christ and God in the world," verse 12. So that notwithstanding God willed them all good, yet, until some temporal external act of God's free grace was put forth, they remained in a state of wrath and alienation from God. So that it is most certain, that God's gracious purpose and good will towards them, did not exempt them from condemnation, until in time it was put in execution. The Father loved Christ, yet he was under wrath, when he cried out, "My God, my God, why hast thou forsaken me?" Indeed, the elect are not under the execution of wrath, that would be no less than damnation to them; but whilst they remain uncalled, they are assuredly under the dispensations of wrath, and are also under a wrathful covenant, as they proceed from the loins of the first Adam, and so remain, until brought to Christ by the grace of the Father, and that their wrathful state changed. So that it is evidently plain, that God's electing love, and present dispensations of

wrath, may well stand together, and then it will follow, that notwithstanding the elect were chosen in Christ before time, and loved with an everlasting love, yet their persons cannot be said to be justified until they believe.

But if the elect were not justified from eternity, (say some) then when they are justified, God is changed, his will is changed.

God is no more changeable in changing the state of the elect in justification, than in changing their natures by regeneration. No, all the change is in the creature, not in God: for, though God did absolutely decree, and that from everlasting, to justify all his, and in the fulness of time he executes the same decree, in justifying of their persons, yet this argues not the least shadow of change in God. If we do but distinguish between the grace of God decreeing and executing of the same decree, this will be most plain, Eph. i. 3. "Blessed be the God and Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, who hath blessed us with all spiritual blessings." Of which justification is one principal one. And in the 4th verse, he shews from whence these spiritual blessings all come: "According as he hath chosen us in him." So that all saving blessings come down on the saints in time, according to God's ancient decree. Thus, we find him speaking to the same purpose, verse 11. "In whom we also have obtained an inheritance, being predestinated, according to the purpose of him that worketh all things after the counsel of his own will." And thus we find, all those blessings the saints have from time to time, coming down on them, are the fruits of God's electing love to them; and how justification in time should argue in the least any change in God, will not from hence, in any wise, appear.

Christ hath brought into his church an everlasting righteousness, Dan. ix. 24. Therefore his elect must needs be justified thereby, though they see it not until they believe.

That Christ hath brought into his church, a most complete and everlasting righteousness is most true, but it doth not thence follow, that all the elect are from thence immediately justified, for there is more concurs to a sinner's justification than the matter, which is Christ's righteousness. For, notwithstanding Christ's blood be a sovereign balm to heal our wounds, yet it heals them not, if not applied by faith. And

though Christ's flesh be meat indeed, and his blood drink indeed, yet they afford no spiritual nourishment to any, if not by faith received. So, though Christ's righteousness be a wedding garment, yet it covers not our nakedness until it be put on by faith; and herein the order of God must be observed, and a concurrence of all causes which he hath appointed, must meet together: The Father justifies as the prime working cause, Christ's righteousness as the material cause, imputation as the form, the Spirit as the applying cause, and faith as the hand or instrument to receive the atonement. So that God the Father justifies, through the Son by the Spirit, who works faith to receive the same. And until these things meet together, our persons are not properly justified, notwithstanding Christ hath wrought out a most complete righteousness.

But the elect are called sheep before they believe, and in God's esteem they are then in a justified state; and his judgment is most just.

They as so called as to the certainty and immutability of God's decree, which cannot be frustrated. And on this account, God calls "things that are not, as though they were," Rom. iv. 17. Yet the text says, "They are things that are not." They are certain, as touching the decree of God, they are not, as touching the accomplishment of the same. Paul was a sheep in the decree of God, when he was wolf-like destroying the sheep of Christ. And surely none will say he was actually a sheep, while he was devouring Christ's flock. Hence we may see that it is most safe to argue from the decree of God, for the certainty of the accomplishment of all things decreed. The event shall be certain and sure; yet from thence to argue that all things are actually accomplished, because certainly decreed, is a dangerous and unsafe way of arguing. So, for any to think the elect are justified, whilst they lie in unbelief, because they are called sheep at that time, this surely is a great mistake.

"God was in Christ, reconciling the world to himself, not imputing their trespasses unto them," 2 Cor. v. 19. Now, where sin is not imputed, there persons are justified: so that the elect were justified from everlasting.

I answer, Whatsoever God's transactions are in himself, or between the persons in the Holy Trinity, we know not, and

no doubt but they transcend all created capacity; but if we come to God's holy word, there we may see that Christ, in the fulness of time, took man's nature into union with his divine person, and in that nature did make full and complete atonement to justice for the sins of his people. When he died on the cross, then was the full price of man's redemption laid down: to this it was that all the old testament saints' faith did look, through the sacrifices under that administration. "But he was wounded for our transgressions, he was bruised for our iniquities, the chastisement of our peace was upon him, and with his stripes we are healed," Isa. liii. 3. Oh, how did the faith of the old testament saints fix on Christ, their true and full atonement. And is it not to this "Lamb of God which taketh away the sin of the world," that the new testament saints' faith, at all times, looks for reconciliation with their heavenly Father? So that when we know not how to fathom the transactions which were before time, between the persons in the sacred Trinity, let us come to God's holy word, and therein may we see his established order, for the justifying of our persons, set down by the Holy Ghost: "Moreover, whom he did predestinate, them he also called, and whom he called, them he also justified, and whom he justified, them he also glorified." Rom. viii. 30. Here we have the golden chain, as some call it, of man's salvation, with the links of the same set in their proper places. Here is predestination, which was before time; here is effectual calling and justification in time; here is glorification after time: and as this chain cannot be broken, neither ought the links of it to be misplaced, but to be kept in their proper places, where the Holy Ghost hath set them; and if so, then we may evidently see how to time justification. But if any shall object, and say, The order of words is not always to be followed in Scripture; I readily grant that, but I think none can make any such objection here, if the place be duly weighed and considered by them. And hence it will follow, though reconciliation was decreed from everlasting, and fully and actually made when he died on the cross, yet until the elect are by the Spirit brought to Christ in their effectual calling, their persons are not justified; for justification flows from union with Christ, "Of him are ye in Christ," 1 Cor. i. 30, that is, of the Father's grace ye are implanted into Christ, and thence

it is that " he is made to us righteousness," for the justifying of our persons. Thus 2 Cor. v. 21, " For he hath made him to be sin for us, who knew no sin, that we might be made the righteousness of God in him." Our sins were imputed to Christ when he died on the cross, and his righteousness is imputed to us when we believe, Rom. iv. 24.

But the elect are said to be reconciled to God whilst enemies, Rom. v. 10.

Redemption wrought out by Christ, is not justification or forgiveness, formally considered but casually, forgiveness being meritoriously procured thereby: for though it may be said the elect are reconciled meritoriously by Christ's blood, before they believe, yet actually they are not until they believe. Forgiveness is a most sure and certain fruit of Christ's death, though this blessed fruit be not ours until we believe: " Then said Jesus unto them, Verily, verily, I say unto you, except ye eat the flesh of the Son of Man, and drink his blood, ye have no life in you," John vi. 53. Having spoken somewhat to this place before, I only now bring it, to shew that Christ here holds forth the absolute necessity of the application of his death to our souls, in a way of believing, if we would have any saving benefit thereby. Though this be not spoken of a sacramental eating, as papists would have it to be meant, (for these words were spoken some considerable time before the institution of that ordinance of the Lord's supper,) yet they clearly hold forth the application of Christ crucified, for the justifying of our persons, and that, no doubt, is the main design of Christ in the same.

But if the elect, say some, were not actually and personally justified from eternity, yet they were from the resurrection of Christ: " He was raised for our justification," Rom. iv. 25.

The apostle having stated and proved the doctrine of justification by faith in Christ, in the former chapters, comes in chap. iii. 28, to a conclusion in that weighty point: " Therefore, we conclude, that a man is justified by faith without the deeds of the law." And in this ivth chapter, he brings in the example of Abraham for a farther confirmation of the point in hand, and shews that Abraham was justified this same way, through this chapter; and what was written, of his justification, " was not written for his sake alone, but for us, also, to whom it shall be imputed, if we believe on him

that raised up Jesus our Lord from the dead, who was delivered for our offences, and was raised again for our justification," verses 24, 25. Here the design of the Holy Ghost being to prove justification by faith, that any should endeavour to draw these words of the apostle, to a justification before believing, no where spoken of in the Scripture, seems strange: but what some speak of, a justification from Christ's resurrection of the persons of the elect, though they do not believe, may, with some advantage, be said of the resurrection of the saints' bodies. For Christ rose out of the sepulchre as the public head and representative of all his, yea, as the "first fruits," 1 Cor. xv. 20. Again, The saints are said "to be risen with him," Col. iii. 1. Further, They are said to be set in "heavenly places in Christ Jesus," Eph. ii. 6. And, lastly, many of the bodies of the saints did rise, and came out of their graves after his resurrection, Matt. xxvii. 53. And from hence Hymeneus and Philetus took occasion to preach the resurrection was past, 2 Tim. ii. 17, 18. But this their opinion, says Paul, overthrows the faith, verse 18. Now because Christ, as man's Surety, was justified in his resurrection, will it thence follow that the persons of all the elect were then justified? Now this seems to be as dangerous to the souls of men; his justification, as our Surety, was no more our personal and actual justification, than his resurrection our actual resurrection; so that notwithstanding these things, yet justification is an external act, and wrought in time. Thus, as to this question, the objection made against this point have occasioned me to use some prolixity, but I shall be the more brief in what follows:

Whether we are justified by the passive righteousness of Christ only?

I answer, we are not justified by the passive righteousness of Christ only: there are two essential parts in justification, namely, remission of sin, and imputation of righteousness. By Christ's redemption, the guilt of sin is taken away, and by his active obedience, the believing person is made completely righteous, in the sight of God; and although these always go together, yet are they to be distinguished one from the other: for as it is one thing to obey the command, and another to suffer the penalty, even so it is one thing to be freed from hell, by the merit of Christ's death, and another

thing to be entitled to heaven by the merit of his obedience, Rom. viii. 3. Here we have the end and design of the Father's sending of Christ asserted. " For what the law could not do, in that it was weak through the flesh, God sending his own Son, in the likeness of sinful flesh, and for sin, condemned sin in the flesh." Here is sin made an end of, and put away by the sacrifice of Christ, yet that did not answer all the demands of the holy law of God, but a farther design is asserted, " That the righteousness of the law might be fulfilled in (or for) us," ver. 4. Here we see, the law must be " magnified and made honourable," in and by Christ's undertaking. Thus, " For Christ is the end of the law for righteousness to every one that believeth," Rom. x. 4. And doth not the law require to *do* if we would *live?* Now had Christ only suffered the penalty, and not fulfilled the preceptive part of the same, we might thereby have been freed from hell, but could not from thence have had any right and title to an eternal kingdom. See how distinctly the Holy Ghost treats of them, " Much more, being justified by his blood," Rom. v. 9. Here is the full and free remission of all sin: " So, by the obedience of one shall many be made righteous," chap. v. 19. And thus it briefly appears, that believers are justified by the whole righteousness of Christ, active and passive.

But doth not somewhat of the saint's own works, or graces, come in as the matter of their justification in the sight of God?

No, not in the least degree: we read in the holy Scripture of two righteousnesses, Christ's and our own. Now, whatsoever is wrought in man, or done by him, is the righteousness of the law: for that requires all inherent holiness. Now, " by the righteousness of the law, shall no flesh be justified in his sight." And holy David deprecates this way of justification: " And enter not into judgment with thy servant, for in thy sight shall no man living be justified," Ps. cxliii. 2. So the whole of man's righteousness in this work of justification, is to be laid aside, and the righteousness of Christ alone introduced.

But, say some, though none can be justified by the works of the law, yet they may, by the works of the gospel, as Abraham was, James ii.

Works are works, let them come under what denomination they will. "Lord, thou hast wrought all our works in us," Isa. xxvi. 12, that is, they are all the fruits and effects of thy grace working in us, yet they are said to be the church's works, though wrought by the Holy Ghost in them. And what James speaks of Abraham's works, they were wrought by him many years after his person was justified before God, by faith, and they are brought by James to evidence Abraham's faith to be no dead, but a living, working faith, and so he was justified by works; that is, in James's sense, his faith was justified, or evidenced, by his works, to be no dead, but a lively working faith, a justifying faith. To the same purpose speaks Paul, "But faith which worketh by love," Gal. v. 6. So that James is speaking of the profession of faith before men, "Shew me thy faith without thy works, and I will shew thee my faith by my works," chap. v. 18. And on this account it is that Abraham's works, are brought in for his justification, "Was not Abraham our father justified by works," ver. 21, then here was the time when he was so justified, and that is expressed, "When he offered his son Isaac upon the altar," which was about forty years after his person was justified by faith. So that Paul, in Rom. iv, and Gal. iii. is speaking of personal justification before God, and brings Abraham, with all saints, as believing in Christ for justification, which is the main doctrine of the gospel; but James is speaking of justification, evidenced by the fruits of faith in true believers, and so brings in Abraham's works; and shews, "The scripture was fulfilled, which saith, Abraham believed God, and it was imputed to him for righteousness," ver. 23. And thus, this illustrious instance of Abraham's obedience, spoken of by James, did clearly evidence the sincerity of his faith; he believed in God for the justifying of his person, he wrought righteousness, by which his faith was evidenced before men. Now, what Paul speaks of Abraham's personal justification before God, Rom. iv. 1, 2, 3, where he excludes all Abraham's works from having any share in his justification; and what James speaks of his faith, being justified or evidenced by his works, before men, are so far from any contrariety one to another, that they not only well stand together, but cannot be separated: for if I, in Paul's sense, betake myself to the free grace of God in Christ, in a

way of believing, for the justifying of my person before God, then ought I, in James's sense, to be fruitful in good works, that I may shew my justification, and the sincerity of my faith, before men. And this is the way the holy Scripture directs all saints to go in, "Not by works of righteousness, which we have done," Titus iii. 5. And if not by righteous works, we may be be sure that persons are not justified or saved by unrighteous ones, "But what things were gain to me, those I counted loss for Christ," Phil. iii. 7. Here was his pharisaical works all laid aside, "Yea, doubtless, and I count all things but loss, for the excellency of the knowledge of Christ Jesus my Lord," ver. 8. Here comes in all his righteous works, from the time Christ had made him an apostle, and they are all laid aside in the work of justification, and Christ's righteousness is only exalted, by this blessed apostle. "And be found in him, not having on mine own righteousness, which is of the law, (as all inherent righteousness is,) but that which is through the faith of Christ, the righteousness which is of God by faith," ver. 9, that is, of God's ordination, and of faith's application. Thus, there is not any thing of man's righteousness, no not in the least, comes into his justification in the sight of God: so that man is not justified by nature or operation, but by grace and free donation.

But in what sense doth faith justify, for we are said to be justified by faith, Rom. v. 1.

I answer, Faith doth not justify as an habitual grace, for so it is part of our sanctification, and we are not justified by an inherent righteousness. Faith, as a quality, is no better than other graces, says Dr. Reynolds on the life of Christ. Or, as another saith, Faith doth not justify, as it is a grace or quality inherent, or as it is part of our inherent righteousness; neither doth faith properly, but the object thereof, which it apprehendeth justifies.—Downham on Justification, p. 103.

Neither doth the act of faith properly justify; for it is not the receiving, but the righteousness received that justifies, or by which we are justified.—Sedgwick on Faith, page 53.

Neither doth faith justify in God's sight, by any inward dignity or worth of its own, as if faith itself were our justifying righteousness; for it is not the excellency of faith, but the excellency of Christ, whom faith apprehends, that justifies.

The ring is not so much worth, because of the matter of it, though excellent in itself, but because of the diamond that is in it. And so it is with faith; it is the diamond, Christ, that faith lays hold on, that makes it so precious: so that it is not the dignity of faith that justifies. Thus, negatively, how faith doth not justify.

Affirmatively, How faith doth justify in the sight of God.

Faith justifies instrumentally, as it is the hand to receive Christ and his righteousness, who is freely tendered in the gospel to poor sinners; or, correlatively, as it hath relation to Christ and his righteousness; or, as it is the eye of the soul that looks to Jesus, Heb. xii. 2, as when Israel was stung in the wilderness, it was not their eye, but the serpent looked on that healed them. Thus Isa. xlv. 52, "Look unto me and be ye saved, all the ends of the earth, for I am God, and there is none else:" that is, there is no other object for sinners to look to for their justification nor salvation, but me only; neither will you find that the Holy Ghost speaks absolutely that faith justifies, but that we are justified by faith; that is, as it hath respect to Christ; for what is faith if it be separated from its object Christ? Neither will true faith own any such thing, but will say as John did, I am not the Christ; I was not crucified for you, I did not fulfil all righteousness for you, but it carries the soul to Christ, saying, "Behold the Lamb of God, which taketh away the sin of the world!" Here is the work and true nature of justifying faith; see how distinctly the apostle speaks of its work: "Receiving the atonement," Rom. v. 11; and, "Receiving abundance of grace," verse 17. So that faith lives purely on alms, fetching all justifying righteousness from Christ, justifying in a relative sense, and as it hath relation to him only.

Is a believer's justification complete at once; are all his sins, past, present and to come, on his first believing, pardoned?

Justification, as hath already been shewn, changes a person's state; and a believer's state being changed, all his legal condemnation is at that time taken from off his person: union with Christ exempts from the same. "There is therefore now no condemnation to them that are in Christ Jesus," Rom. viii. 1. Here is the high privilege of those in Christ asserted, namely, exemption from God's condemnation; and

the Holy Ghost here tells us, " There is therefore now no condemnation," not the least condemnation remains to them " in Christ," but their sins are freely remitted, " for his name's sake, and all that believe are justified from all things," Acts xiii. 39. Here is a most complete absolution from all sins, for all those that believe in the Lord Christ. Thus Col. i. 13, " Having forgiven you all trespasses." God doth not, in the justification of his people, forgive some sins only, and leave others standing on the score. " Who forgiveth all thine iniquities," Ps. ciii. 3. And not only so, but Christ covers the believer with the robe of righteousness. Isa. lxi. 10. For no sooner doth a man truly believe in Christ, but his righteousness is imputed to him, and in and by that righteousness, he standeth righteous before God, as well at the first as at the last; that righteousness of Christ by which we are justified, whether first or last, being most perfect: therefore the righteousness of justification cannot be increased, neither doth our justification before God admit degrees, either in one and the same person, or yet in divers men.—Downham on Justification, page 7.

But God only forgives the sins that are past? Rom. iii. 25.

I answer, This looks to the sins of the saints, that were committed before Christ's coming in the flesh, and holds forth God's indulgence in pardoning of them, on the account of Christ's engagement, though the price of their redemption was not actually laid down. To the same thing does the Holy Ghost speak, " And for this cause he is the Mediator of the new testament, that by means of death, for the redemption of the transgressions that were under the first testament," Heb. ix. 15. Here is that most excellent sacrifice, that looked as high as Adam, being the Lamb slain from the foundation of the world, from whence all the old testament saints had both full and free remission of all sin: and this I take to be the true meaning of this scripture. And though sin cannot properly be said to be actually forgiven, before it be committed; yet when the elect are, by the Holy Ghost, united to Christ, their persons are completely justified, and Christ having fulness of pardoning grace in his hands, their justification is continued and maintained by his intercession in heaven. 1 John ii. 1. And thus the saints'

justification is, and continues to be, one constant and complete act of free grace, never to be reversed again.

But doth not this doctrine of the constant continuance of the saints' justification, tend to looseness, and open a gap to licentiousness?

This is an old objection, thrown against the doctrine of the grace of God. When Paul taught, "that where sin abounded, grace did much more abound," Rom. v. 20, then comes this "shall we continue in sin that grace may abound?" But he rejects any such inference, as unworthy of any answer, chap. vi. 2. "God forbid, how shall we that are dead to sin, live any longer therein?" And how shall those that are justified from all sin, from thence take encouragement to go on in sin? But those persons that make this objection, no doubt, are great strangers to the grace of God themselves. Indeed, were the elect justified whilst in unbelief, there would be some strength in the objection; but their natures being renewed at that moment of time, their state is changed, the objection hath no force in it; "for the grace of God teacheth to deny ungodliness," Titus ii. 11, 12.

But believers sin greatly, after they are in a justified state, and so stand in need of renewed pardon, from time to time.

That believers sin after they are in a justified state, sad experience, as well as God's word, doth daily shew; but the sins of those who are in a justified state, come under another consideration, for their "persons are not under the law, (or legal covenant) Rom. vi. 14. They are in Christ, who is "the end of the law for righteousness, to every one that believeth," Rom. x. 4. So that as believers have nothing to do with the law, so as to seek justification for their persons, by their obedience to the same; neither can the law, with its condemning power, reach them, so as to bring them into legal condemnation again: so that unless the covenant of grace be made void, the believer's justified state remains, and he is no more under the law for ever.

But may some say, are not believers then under the law, are they lawless?

The law comes under a twofold consideration. As a covenant of works for justification. As a rule of life for conversation.

As a covenant of works for justification. All saints

through grace, are delivered from the same, Rom. vii. 4. "Wherefore, my brethren, ye also are dead to the law, by the body of Christ:" that is, ye are taken off from all hopes of justification, by your obedience to it; and the "law is now weak through the flesh," chap. viii. 3. that is, as to justification: man cannot keep it, and so can expect no justification by the same; yea, all true believers are, as to justification, dead to the law, Gal. ii. 19. And as true believers seek not to the law, in a way of working, but to Christ in a way of believing, for their justification, so hath Christ delivered them from the malediction of the same, Gal. iii. 12. "Christ hath redeemed us from the curse of the law." So that all the dread and terror of the broken covenant is taken away by Christ, for all true believers. Indeed, a Christless person is under the covenant of works, and to such the law is full of dread and terror, the voice of which we may hear, Gal. iii. 10. "For as many as are of the works of the law, are under the curse, for it is written, Cursed is every one that continueth not in all things which are written in the book of the law, to do them." Sinners had need look after a Christ in time, or they will fall under the law's curse for ever.

The law is to be considered as a rule of life, and so Christ hath for ever established the same, that he may thereby guide all his people in ways of holiness, Prov. vi. 23. "For the commandment is a lamp, and the law is light," to guide in ways of true happiness; and in this respect all saints "are under the law to Christ," 1 Cor. ix. 21, and ought to keep close to the same, and to say as holy David, Psalm cxix. 97. "O how I love thy law, it is my meditation all the day." And thus we see how the saints are under the law, and how not, they are delivered from it as a covenant of works; they are, and will be, eternally under it as a rule of life.

The saints of God being renewed but in part, and having a two-fold image, of the first and second Adam, may they not be under the covenant of grace, so far as renewed, and under the covenant of works, so far as they are unrenewed? Is it not so with believers, strong in the covenant?

That the saints of God, whilst here in this world, are, and will remain, partly flesh and partly Spirit, having a two-fold image, is assuredly true; but this cannot imply a two-fold covenant, in any wise. The image respects the nature of the

believer, but the covenant respects the person, as there are two natures in Christ, and both of them have their distinct properties, yet the sonship of Christ is but one, for that hath relation to his person. So, although believers have flesh and Spirit, yet it is not possible they should, at the same time, be under two contrary covenants, for the covenants respect the person, which is but one; and the change of a person's covenant is a legal act, and done at once, and but once, and God accounts the persons of believers, under the legal covenant, no more for ever, Rom. vii. 4. "Wherefore, my brethren, ye also are become dead to the law, by the body of Christ." Here is the believer's freedom from the first covenant asserted, and the way and manner how it is brought about, namely, by union with Christ, "That ye should be married to another, even to him that is raised from the dead." Christ being the head of the new covenant, our union with him brings us under the same. And though Paul, in this chapter, complained of the remains of sin, which made him groan, verse 24, "O wretched man that I am, who shall deliver me from the body of this death." Yet this did not, in the least, infringe his covenant state. So, though all true believers are partly flesh, and partly Spirit, yet their covenant relation is neither, nor can be, but one, Rom. vi. 14. "For ye are not under the law, but under grace."

But if the saints are not under the law, or legal covenant, then it should seem from thence, that they need no pardon of sin, and so ought not in their daily prayers to pray for the same: so where there is no law there is no transgression.

Though believers are not under the law, or legal covenant, yet it doth not from thence follow, that they stand in no need of daily pardon. Indeed, they stand not in need of such pardon as unbelievers stand in need of, they are under a legal condemnation, obnoxious to the curse, and stand in need of a change of their state, God being to them a God of terror. But if at any time they are, through grace, brought savingly to believe in Christ, then God, as a God of all grace, freely justifies them, by remitting of their sins, and imputing of Christ's righteousness for their justification, and properly this is Scripture justification, Rom. iv. 6, 8.

But believers standing in relation to God, as children to a tender-hearted Father, this alters the case quite, and shews a

vast difference between the state of the one and of the other, the believer being "justified from all things," Acts xiii. 39, and the unbeliever being "condemned already," John iii. 18. Now though God deal as a Judge with those that continue in their unbelief, yet he deals as a tender-hearted Father with all true believers. "Like as a father pitieth his children, so the Lord pitieth them that fear him: yea, he remembereth that we are dust," Psalm ciii. 13, 14. Now when the saints sin against a loving Father, then does God come forth with his fatherly corrections: "Then will I visit their transgressions with the rod, and their iniquity with stripes," Psalm lxxxix. 32. And sometimes in a very sore manner; "Behold thou art wroth, for we have sinned," Isa. lxiv. 5. Indeed the sins of the saints shall not make void God's covenant, therefore the prophet comes in the next words, saying, In those, that is, in thy mercies, is continuance, and we shall be saved; yet they highly provoke a tender-hearted Father by sinning against him; and as often as the saints sin against their heavenly Father, in this their new covenant relation, so oft they stand in need of fatherly forgiveness. Thus with holy David, who had sinned in the matter of Uriah, yet when brought to confess the same, "Nathan said unto David, The Lord hath put away thy sin, thou shalt not die," 2 Sam. xii. 13; for by God's law adulterers ought to be put to death, Lev. xx. 10. Now God remitting this temporal chastisement to David, is said to pardon, or put away his sin: and the church cried out, Lam. iii. 42, "We have transgressed and rebelled, thou hast not pardoned;" that is, their afflictions were not removed. And in this sense God oft lets sin lie on his otherwise justified children for some time unpardoned, and as often as he is pleased to remit these chastisements, so often he may be said to pardon his children; and as long as the saints sin against their God and Father in their new covenant relation, so long shall we need renewed pardon, which will be whilst we are in this world. And this should keep the saints at the throne of grace, daily begging of pardon, confessing of sin, bewailing of corrupt nature, and entreating a farther discovery of their covenant state.

Now in this respect the saints daily need pardon of sin, and a more full discovery of their new covenant relation with God; so that it is not true in every respect, you see, to say

all pardon is at once: but with respect to the justifying of our persons, in a proper sense, justification is but one constant, complete act of grace, admitting of no degrees, nor revocation, but remains firm for ever.

But if God correct his justified children for their sins, doth it not dishonour the cross of Christ?

That God doth correct his saints here for their sins, and not only from them, as some would have it, is most plain from the New, as well as from the Old Testament: "For this cause," namely, the abuse of the Lord's supper, "many are weak and sickly among you, and some sleep," 1 Cor. xi. 30. Some, indeed, would have this to be spoken only of hypocrites, that were mingled among the godly, but this seems to me to have no weight in it; for the apostle speaks here of no more than what might befal him, should he do as they had done, as may be seen by the next words. And some think that the word *sleep* argues they were godly, penitent christians, that so died, to let us know, that even good people, who yet may be saved, may bring judgments in this life on themselves, by the profanation of God's name in his ordinances: see the late Annotations on this place. To the same purpose the Holy Ghost speaks: "As many as I love I rebuke and chasten; be zealous, therefore, and repent," Rev. iii. 19. Now what were they to repent of but their sins? And if so, then this chastisement was for sin, being procured thereby. Thus James v. 15, 16: "And if he hath committed sins, they shall be forgiven him." Now this forgiveness was the healing of his body, that is, the removing of a temporal affliction, which God as a loving Father had inflicted. See Mr. Jeremiah Burroughs's Sermon on 1 Sam. iii. 18, pages 89, 90, who calls it a vain conceit to think that God doth not afflict his people for their sins. See his work on Hosea, vol. ii. page 449.

So that though God doth not, as a judge, take vengeance on his justified children for their sins, yet as a loving Father he assuredly corrects them when they go astray. And certainly there can be no good argument drawn from the perfection of Christ's satisfaction, to exempt believers from fatherly corrections here for their going astray. Nay, holy David looks on God's corrective dispensations, as his keeping of covenant with him: "I know, O Lord, thy judgments are

right, (that is, thy corrections,) and that thou in faithfulness hast afflicted me," Psalm cxix. 75.

The old testament saints lived under a more legal dispensation, and so might be corrected for their sins, but not so now.

I hope they were in the same covenant of grace as we, though not under the same administration, and that Christ did as fully satisfy for their sins as for ours, yet he did afflict Moses, Eli, David, and the rest of his children, then, for their sins, and why not now, if they go astray? And certainly God hath not, by Christ's satisfaction, divested himself of his fatherly authority, but will shew the same if his children go astray, Psalm lxxxix. 30, 31, 32. Thus as to the first branch of the doctrine.

Secondly, I come to shew wherein the free grace of God so much shines forth in a way of a sinner's justification by faith in Christ. And,

The Holy Scriptures run altogether this way: "They which receive abundance of grace," Rom. v. 17. Here is faith, the hand to receive; here is abundance of grace received. So that a believer not only receives grace in his justification, but much grace. Thus Rom. iv. 16: "Therefore it is of faith, that it might be by grace." Here, observe, that to be justified by faith and by grace, is all one in the account of the Holy Ghost. And this way of grace makes the promise sure to all the seed, that is, to the whole election of God: "In whom we have redemption through his blood, even the forgiveness of sins, according to the riches of his grace," Eph. i. 7. In the former verse the apostle was speaking of the saints' acceptance in the Beloved, that is, in Christ, the God-man; and in this verse he shews the riches of grace flow down in free forgiveness: "That in ages to come, he might shew the exceeding riches of his grace, in his kindness to us through Christ Jesus," chap. ii. 7; that is, in all succeeding ages, to the end of the world. Grace, through Christ, might flow down for the free justification of all those that should believe, as, verse 8, "By grace are ye saved, through faith." Now this way of justification drowns all men's excellencies: as when the sun arises there is no need of candle, even so when the Sun of Righteousness arises, as Mal. iv. 2, then doth man's own righteousness disappear, and

is like the morning cloud, and early dew, that soon passeth away, that so free grace may the more illustriously appear in this work of free justification: "Not by works of righteousness which we have done, but according to his mercy he saved us," Rom. iii. 5. Here all works are denied, that grace may take place altogether in this work, "that being justified by his grace, we should be made heirs according to the hope of eternal life," verse 7: as if the apostle had said, that believers, through the free grace of God, having the guilt of their sin removed, and Christ's righteousness imputed, should be made "children, then heirs, heirs of God and joint-heirs with Christ," Rom. viii. 17. See late Annotations. And if we look into Isa. xliii. 25, there we find the great God thus speaking, "I, even I am he that blotteth out thy transgressions for mine own sake." Here God writes an *I* on this work; he looks on it as his prerogative royal to pardon sin, and that not for any worthiness in man, but for his own sake. He will not give the glory of his free grace to any other; nay, poor man has nothing of his own, but must be beholden altogether to free grace: "And when they had nothing to pay, he frankly forgave them both," Luke vii. 42. Here free forgiveness is on the throne, and "reigns, through righteousness, unto eternal life, by Jesus Christ our Lord," Rom. v. 21. Oh, then, let all saints say as the prophet, "Who is a God like unto thee, that pardoneth iniquity, and passeth by the transgression of the remnant of his heritage; he retaineth not his anger for ever, because he delighteth in mercy," Micah vii. 18. And thus we find the Holy Scriptures hold forth much grace in a sinner's justification by faith in Christ.

The more low and miserable our state is, when grace finds us, the more it shines in the sinner's advancement. As, suppose a great and mighty prince should take a mean person from a dungeon, as Pharaoh did Joseph, and advance him so high as to make him the second man in his kingdom; this was, and would be great grace in a prince, but what is this to the high advancement God bestows on poor sinners in a way of mere grace? The church says, "God remembered them in their low estate," Psa. cxxxvi. 23. Now, surely grace finds sinners as low as hell, and advanceth them as high as heaven. Mordecai was in a low state when he sat at the king's gate in sackcloth, and a gallows being made to

hang him on, and his people also designed for utter ruin, Esther vi. And then for the king to advance him so high, as to have " the royal apparel brought, which the king useth to wear, with the crown royal," and to have it set on his head, by one of the most noble princes, " who should proclaim before him, Thus shall it be done unto the man whom the king delighteth to honour." This was great favour shewn to Mordecai: but what was this to the grace of God in a sinner's free justification by faith in Christ? In Luke xv., we read of the prodigal, who had spent all and was feeding of swine, but on his return, is embraced in the arms of tender love, and the best robe is brought forth, the righteousness of Christ, to cover the poor sinner's nakedness. Now doth not grace herein shine, in bringing of prodigals from their swinish lusts, and in embracing in the arms of divine love? Saul once said to David, " If a man find his enemy, will he let him go well away?" But grace finds sinners in their enmity against God, Rom. viii. 7. Enmity in the abstract, separated from all amenity, and this heightens man's misery: yet free grace calls, justifies, and glorifies, ver. 30. And thus we find, " When thou wast cast out, to the loathing of thy person, (here is man's low estate set, then comes free grace, and its language is,) I said to thee, live," Ezek. xvi. Here is free absolution: and what shall we say to Joshua the high priest, Zech. iii. He was in a low estate, " clothed with filthy garments, and Satan (taking the wall of him) standing at his right hand, to resist him." His condition was very low, but then comes free grace in, speaking, " Take away the filthy garments from him, and unto him he said, Behold I have caused thine iniquity to pass from thee, (here is free pardon of sin) and I will clothe thee with change of raiment," ver. 4. May not this well be understood of imputed righteousness, " And I said, let them set a fair mitre on his head," ver. 5. Here is high advancement from this low estate. And thus, free grace shines, in a sinner's justification, by faith in Christ, for it finds sinners very low, and advanceth them very high.

The more distinguishing any mercy is, the more free grace shines in that mercy. As, suppose two great sinners alike, and one taken to free justification, and the other left to his justly deserved condemnation, doth not free grace shine forth

on that person that is taken? Thus, "For he saith to Moses, I will have mercy on whom I will have mercy, and I will have compassion on whom I will have compassion, Rom. ix. 15. And from hence he infers, "That it is not of him that willeth, nor of him that runneth, but of God that sheweth mercy:" ver. 16, and what is here spoken of election, is as applicable to justification. God distinguishes person from person, in justification, "Two men went into the temple to pray, the one a pharisee, and the other a publican," Luke xviii. 10. Now, see how free grace laid hold on the publican, and passed by the pharisee, "I tell you this man went down to his house justified rather than the other," or not the other, ver. 14. Here distinguishing grace did most evidently appear, in the justification of the publican. And was it not free grace that brought Paul from the rest of his companions, and that when he was in the height of rebellion against God? "Saul, Saul, why persecutest thou me?" Acts ix. Was not this the voice of free, distinguishing grace, that Paul heard? So we have his own words for it, "But by the grace of God, I am what I am," 1 Cor. xv. 10. So that there appears to be much of the free grace of God, in the justification of a sinner, by faith in Christ, by the distinguishing of person from person, in the same.

The more considerable any mercy is, and the less consideration it is given upon, the more free grace shines in that mercy. Now justification is a most considerable mercy, and it is bestowed without the least respect to man's worthiness, "But to him that worketh not, but believeth on him justifieth the ungodly," Rom. iv. 5. Here we may see, though poor man is in a state of ungodliness, when grace lays hold of him, yet notwithstanding here is free justification bestowed, which is a most considerable mercy, and will evidently appear so to be, by such considerations as these.

If I am justified, then I have peace with God, "Therefore, being justified by faith, we have peace with God, through our Lord Jesus Christ," Rom. v. 1. Reconciliation with God being the great and fundamental blessing of the gospel, must needs be a considerable mercy: and all justified persons, their state is a state of friendship: Abraham my friend.

Being justified, all our sinful debts are discharged, "To him give all the prophets witness, that through his name,

whosoever believeth on him shall receive remission of sins," Acts. x. 43. And here we may see this is the doctrine of all the prophets. And to the same purpose the apostle Paul speaks, " And by him all that believe are justified from all things," Acts xiii. 39. Here is a most complete discharge from all guilt, for the believing person; therefore, justification must needs be a considerable mercy.

And then if justified, God will never leave nor forsake us. It is a good saying of one of the ancients: He that justifieth the ungodly, will never forsake the godly. And the Holy Ghost speaks the same thing, " For he hath said, I will never leave thee nor forsake thee," Heb. xiii. 5. So that justification is a most considerable mercy.

And if justified, then shall we be assuredly glorified, " And whom he justified, them he also glorified," Rom. viii. 30. So that the next remove the saints shall make, will be to glory in the heavens. Now, these and such like blessings following on our justification by faith, shew that it is a very considerable mercy, and that there is much of free grace shines forth in the same.

Thirdly, I come now to shew, how this doctrine doth concern the comfort and practice of true believers. And,

As touching the comfort of the saints of God, this doctrine of justification, by faith in Christ, is a foundation of divine consolation. After Paul had been speaking of justification by faith, Rom. v. 1, he comes ver. 2., to speak of the saints' rejoicing, " We rejoice in hope of the glory of God," that is in that glory, which God hath graciously promised to all his justified children. Here is present justification and future glory, for the saints to solace themselves in, " And not only so, but we glory in tribulation also," ver. 3. This blessed doctrine not only fills the saints' hearts, with respect to future happiness, but makes them rejoice in their tribulations here; nay, in ver. 11: " and not only so, but we also joy in God through our Lord Jesus Christ," that is, we not only joy in hopes of heaven hereafter, and in tribulations here, but we joy in God himself, who is our reconciled Father, in Christ. Thus, holy David, " My soul shall make her boast in the Lord," Psa. xxxiv. 2. When he hath been speaking of this blessed doctrine of free remission, " Blessed is he, whose transgression is forgiven, and whose sin is covered. Blessed

is the man unto the Lord imputeth not iniquity," Psa. xxxii. 1, 2, then he comes in ver. 11, to call the saints to rejoice in the Lord, " Be glad in the Lord, and rejoice ye righteous, and shout for joy, all ye that are upright in heart." Whatsoever others do, let the saints of God rejoice in Christ, as holy Paul did, Phil. iii. 3, " For we are of the circumcision, that worship God in the Spirit, and rejoice in Christ Jesus, having no confidence in the flesh." As if he had said, let others rejoice in what they will, Christ shall be the true comfort of our souls, we will rejoice in the merit of Christ, in the righteousness of Christ, in the person of Christ, and all that know the doctrine of God's free justification by faith in Christ, in a saving manner, ought to rejoice. This doctrine of free grace is a firm basis of consolation. When the Holy Ghost is speaking of the joyful sound of free grace, Psalm lxxxix. 15, " Blessed is the people that know the joyful sound;" then he comes to speak of their true consolation: " They shall walk, O Lord, in the light of thy countenance (verse 16), in thy name shall they rejoice all the day, and in thy righteousness shall they be exalted." Oh, what a sweet life is the life of faith, that leads the soul to the fountain of free grace for consolation here and for salvation hereafter! We find the church full of heavenly consolation in Isa. lxi. 10, " I will greatly rejoice in the Lord, my soul shall be joyful in my God;" and the ground of this joy was this, " For he hath clothed me with the garments of salvation, he hath covered me with the robe of righteousness."

And thus we see, the doctrine of free justification by faith in Christ, doth much concern the comfort and consolation of the saints of God.

This doctrine of free justification doth much concern the saints' practice, and will thus appear:

Seeing there is so much of free grace shines in this blessed doctrine, then surely it highly concerns us to study the same. Oh, why should we not search more into this doctrine of free justification by faith in Christ. This is the article the church stands or falls by, Rom. xi. 20. " Well, because of unbelief they were broken off, and thou standest by faith." If this doctrine be kept entire, the church stands; but if this be left, the church falls. When the Jews left this doctrine, they fell. " If ye believe not that I am he, ye shall die in your

sins." All those persons that do not, by faith, cleave entirely to Christ the only Mediator, for the remission of their sins, and for the justification of their persons, will, no doubt, die in their sins. This doctrine of justification by faith, is the church's Magna Charta, and so greatly concerns all saints to be firmly established in the same. When the church of Rome left this doctrine, she became anti-christian, 2 Thes. ii. 10, "Because they received not the love of the truth, that they might be saved." This truth, by which sinners are saved, here spoken of, is beyond all doubt, (to me) justification by faith in Christ, as John xiv. 6. "I am the truth;" that whosoever receives by faith, shall be assuredly saved, and whosoever rejects, through unbelief shall undoubtedly perish, John iii. 36. So that when the church of Rome left this glorious doctrine, then did God give them up, verse 11, "And for this cause God shall send them strong delusions, that they should believe a lie, (namely, that lie of justification before God, by a man's own righteousness) verse 12, That they all might be damned, who believe not the truth." that is, the truth of free justification, as before. And were this doctrine received, what would become of the pope's pardons, their indulgences, their purgatory, and the like trash? Now, for a round sum of money, they can, as they say, absolve men in this life, from their sins, and deliver out of purgatory in the life to come. But were this doctrine of free justification understood, all these cursed delusions would soon vanish. So that it highly concerns us to be careful in the study of this blessed doctrine of free justification by faith in Christ. When Peter had made a confession of his faith, Matt. xvi. Christ said to him, "Thou art Peter, and on this rock will I build my church," that is, on the confession he made; which see, verse 16, "Thou art Christ, the Son of the living God." Here is the main doctrine of the gospel in this confession, and by this it is that the church of Christ stands. O then let us all labour to keep close to this most blessed doctrine of justification by faith in Christ, for it highly concerns us so to do.

This doctrine of justification by free grace, concerns the saints' practice, for it is their main defence against the wiles and artifices of Satan, it is their shield and buckler, as Luther calls it, against the temptations of the devil.

Are you tempted to pride, do you think highly of your own righteousness? a right understanding in this blessed doctrine will lay souls humble at the feet of Christ, as it did Paul, 1 Cor. xv. 10, "But by the grace of God I am what I am." A right understanding in this soul-humbling and Christ-exalting doctrine, brought him from the pinnacle of pride, and laid him at Christ's footstool, crying out, "I am less than the least of all saints." When this proud pharisee came to understand the doctrine of free grace, then did he look on himself as one of the chief of sinners, 1 Tim. i. 15, and his only plea was, Christ's coming into the world to save sinners. Here is not a word that tends to the priding of himself in his own righteousness, those vain conceits are now gone, and Christ and free grace now take place and reign in his heart. And so it will be with us, when we come to have the doctrine of free grace to reign in our hearts. Dagon and the ark could not stand together, neither can man's own righteousness and free grace stand, but the setting up of the one throws down the other. So that a right understanding in the doctrine of free justification, will tend much to allay the pride of our spirits. Or,

Are we tempted to covetousness? a right sense of the doctrine of justification, by free grace, will help much to cure our souls of that evil also: "Yea, doubtless, and I count all things but loss, for the excellency of the knowledge of Christ Jesus my Lord, Phil. iii. 8. Oh, how was his soul cured when he came to know free grace, and what he speaks of, godliness with contentment being great gain, 1 Tim. vi. 6. Now wherein does the practice of true godliness lie, but in exercising of faith in Christ, which both purifies the heart, Acts xv. 9, and works by love, Gal. v. 6. And in this practice the heart will be brought from the love of the world, and all true gain will be brought to the soul thereby, so that this doctrine doth highly concern the practice of all true believers.

Or, are you tempted to despair, this doctrine of free grace only can relieve you; for says the soul, I hear there is abundance of grace, and this grace infinitely free, for the worst of sinners, and that the Lord Christ saves to the utmost, all that come to the Father by him, Heb. vii. 25; oh, how can I then despair of mercy for my soul? Let my condition be what it will, this doctrine of free justification, will carry the

soul above the temptation of despair, let its sins be never so many or great. So that this doctrine concerns the practice of true believers. If we look into Ephes. ii. 7, the apostle speaks of the grace of God extending itself to great sinners: "That in ages to come, he might shew the exceeding riches of his grace, in his kindness towards us, through Christ Jesus." And if we inquire who those *us*, that are here spoken of, are, we shall find here was Paul, a blasphemer and an injurious person, yet he obtained mercy, and is set forth as an example, that none might despair. "Howbeit, for this cause I obtained mercy, that in me first, Jesus Christ might shew forth all long-suffering, for a pattern to them who should hereafter believe on him to life everlasting," 1 Tim. i. 16. Here we have a pattern of God's patience and free grace to other sinners, that shall afterward cast themselves into the arms of free grace, as Paul did; so that none that know the doctrine of free grace might despair: nay, though persons have lived long in sin, yet there is hope. When Christ died on the cross, there was one left, that none might presume; there was one saved, that none might despair. So that this doctrine of free justification, if rightly understood, will carry souls above the temptations of despair, and so highly concerns the practice of all true believers.

And seeing there is so much grace in this blessed doctrine of free justification, how should this draw souls to Christ. Here is grace, free grace, much grace, abundance of grace, yea, all grace, for graceless sinners. Oh, souls, what do you mean, that you come not to Christ? Do you not, by this doctrine of free grace, hear a solemn call? "Be it known unto you, therefore, men and brethren, that through this man is preached unto you the forgiveness of sins," Acts xiii. 34. Now let us look into the next verse, and see what the design of the Holy Ghost is, in making known this grace to poor sinners. "And by him, all that believe are justified from all things," ver. 39. In or upon their believing, free justification terminates on their persons: and what, not come to Christ, when the arms of free love are open to embrace you! Oh, sinners, can you stay from Christ, when the voice of free grace sounds so sweetly in your ears! "I will give to him that is athirst, of the fountain of the water of life freely," Rev. xxi. 6. Now what sayest thou, O sinner, wilt thou sell

thy soul for a swinish lust, and despise the grace of Christ? Is there here this day, any swearer, or drunkard, or sabbath-breaker, or any other profane person? I will not say to thee, How camest thou in hither? thou mayest hear that time enough, to the amazement of thy soul, if grace do not speedily change thy heart; but I will say to thee, here is a possibility of thy being saved. If we look into Luke xv., we have a parable of a prodigal, which represents to us a state of profaneness; yet on his return, the father "met him, fell upon his neck and kissed him," embraced him in the arms of free love, the best robe is brought forth and put on him, the fatted calf is killed, and making merry. Now what is all this for, but to illustrate the free grace of God to the worst of sinners? Oh then, if you love your souls, and desire salvation, fall at the foot of free grace, and cry as the publican, "God be merciful to me a sinner." Now the sceptre of free grace is held out to poor sinners; oh, that their hearts were inclined to receive the same: the Lord make them a willing people in the day of his power. And is here any that are only civil persons, or hypocrites? Oh, have a care of resting on your own righteousness, as those did, Rom. x. 3, "For they being ignorant of God's righteousness, and going about to establish their own righteousness, have not submitted themselves to the righteousness of God." Here both their ignorance and their pride did most evidently appear; they were not for being beholden to Christ for that, which they thought they had of their own. Oh, the cursed pride that is in man's heart, that sinners should think it beneath them to submit themselves to the righteousness of God! But, may the God of all wisdom, shew sinners their great mistake, and bring them, by the workings of his grace, to see a shortness in their own righteousness, and lead them into the knowledge of Christ and his righteousness, that they may see and betake themselves to the way of free grace, for the justifying of their persons here, and the saving of their souls hereafter; and that, while God is in a way of mercy, for "now is the accepted time, now is the day of salvation."

And to you that are the saints of God, why should you not magnify and praise the grace of God? "In thy name shall they rejoice all the day, and in thy righteousness shall

they be exalted." Shall angels sing, "Glory to God in the highest," for his great grace and love to poor man, and shall we, whom it so nearly concerns, be dumb? Nay, rather let the high praises of God be in their mouth, that they may give glory to him that sits on the throne, and to the Lamb for ever.

But I fear I am not justified, for I find much sin remaining in me, and would it be so if I were in a justified state?

The saints of God have the remains of sin in their natures, notwithstanding the guilt is taken off from their persons. As, suppose a person under condemnation, that hath an evil disease cleaving to him; a pardon comes from his prince, and takes off his condemnation, and at the same time a medicine is applied for the cure of his disease, only that must operate gradually. Now, should such an one say, he is not pardoned from his guilt, because his disease is not fully cured? And is not this the case in hand? Pardoning grace takes away the believer's guilt, and at the same moment of time, the Holy Ghost renews and changes his nature. Now, because there is not presently an abolition of all sin, and an infusion of all grace, some trembling hearts fear their guilt remains on their persons, because the remains of sin still cleave to their natures, not so well knowing these are two distinct benefits: as Psalm ciii. 3, "Who forgiveth all thy iniquities, who healeth all thy diseases." Here are two distinct benefits, one by God's act of grace in justification, the other wrought by the Holy Spirit in sanctification. Now we must distinguish between sins being in the soul, and sins being imputed to the person. "Blessed is the man to whom the Lord will not impute sin," Rom. iv. 8. Holy Paul found the remains of sin in his nature, Rom. vii. 25, which made him cry out, "O wretched man that I am, who shall deliver me from the body of this death?" Yet at the same time, he could see the guilt of his sin taken off from his person, and from the persons of all true believers: "There is therefore now no condemnation, to them which are in Christ Jesus," Rom. viii. 1. Oh, most blessed privilege the saints of God are privileged withal, to be exempted from guilt, though the remains of sin still abide in us.

But how shall I discern that I am a justified person?

If you have been effectually called, by the Spirit of God

working with the word, so as to convince you of sin, the great evil of it, as it is contrary to the holy nature of God, as well as destructive to the souls of men; and to turn you from the same, if you have seen a shortness in your own righteousness, and a fulness in Christ and his righteousness; and, by the work of the Spirit, your soul hath been drawn to Christ, as Jer. xxxi. 3, "With loving-kindness have I drawn thee;" then are you a justified person. "And whom he called, them he also justified," Rom. viii. 30.

If you have been brought by the Spirit's conviction, to renounce your own righteousness in point of justification, as Paul was, Phil. iii., and to rely on Christ's righteousness, by faith, for the justifying of your person before God, then are you justified. "And by him, all that believe, are justified from all things," Acts xiii. 39.

And if you have the same dispositions wrought in your heart, by the Holy Spirit, as those justified persons spoken of in the Scripture had, then are you justified persons.

What dispositions were those?

Look into Ezek. xvi. 62, 63, "And I will establish my covenant with thee, and thou shalt know that I am the Lord." This is summarily a promise of grace and glory: then it follows, "That thou mayest remember, and be confounded, and never open thy mouth more;" that is, you shall neither justify yourself, nor condemn others, nor quarrel with thy God, but shall take shame to thyself, that grace may be alone exalted. Thus, "Then will I sprinkle clean water upon you, and you shall be clean," Ezek. xxxvi. 25; and in ver. 31, "Then shall ye remember your own evil ways, and shall loathe yourselves in your own sight." Here is a loathing of ourselves, that is, a self-humbling disposition in the soul, when free grace comes to take place.

And what do you think of that woman, Luke vii.? Was not her heart sweetly disposed, when Christ turned to her, ver. 44, "Seest thou this woman?" Here was faith in Christ, ver. 50. Here were the tears of true repentance; here was great humiliation for sin; here was true love in her heart to Christ. Oh, what sweet dispositions were here wrought in her heart.

And the ground of all this was, the free grace of God shining forth in the remission of her sins. "And when they

had nothing to pay, he frankly forgave both," ver. 42. "Wherefore, I say to thee, her sins, which are many, are forgiven," ver. 47. And then comes the fruits of this free forgiveness, "For she loved much." Now if you have the like dispositions wrought in you, then are you a justified person also.

If you can heartily justify the ways, ordinances, and dispensations of Christ, then are you justified by Christ. "Wisdom is justified of her children," Luke vii. 35, because Wisdom's children are first justified by Wisdom. Here, by Wisdom, we are to understand Christ, who by his free grace, justifies his children, and then works dispositions in their hearts to justify him, his ways, ordinances, and righteous dispensations.

THE END.

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